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# PALI MISCELLANY

BY

Wilhelm  
V. TRENCKNER.

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In issuing this first part of my Pali Miscellany, it is my hope that I shall be able to continue from time to time to give contributions towards illustrating several details of Pali philology. It will essentially depend upon the more or less favour this specimen meets with from those competent to judge. The following parts will eventually contain the Bhabra texts, the remains preserved in the Nikāyas of what I call the heretical dialect, inquiries on divers points of Pali grammar, emendations to edited texts, etc.

Copenhagen, March 31, 1879.

**V. Trenckner.**

### Abbreviations.

AN. = Anguttaranikāyo.	Mp. = Manorathapūraṇī.
As. = Atthasālinī.	Pd. = Paramatthadipanī.
Bv. = Buddhavamsa.	Pj. = Paramatthajotikā.
Cp. = Cariyāpitakam.	Ps. = Papañcasūdanī.
Dh. = Dhammapadaṁ.	SN. = Saṁyuttanikāyo.
DN. = Dīghanikāyo.	Sn. = Suttanipāto.
It. = Itivuttakam.	Ss. = Sārasangaho.
Jāt. = Jātakam.	Th. = Theragāthā.
MN. = Majjhimanikāyo.	Ud. = Udānaṁ.

## A SPECIMEN OF MILINDAPAÑHO.

**M**ilindo nāma so rājā Sāgalāyam - puruttame  
upagañchi Nāgasenam, Gangā va yatha sāgaram.

Asajja rājā citrakathinū ukkādhāram tamonudam  
apucchi nipuṇe pañhe thānāṭhānagate puthū.

Pucchāvissajjanā c' eva gambhīratthūpanissitā  
hadayangamā kannasukhā abbhutā lomahaṁsanā.

Abhidhammadvinayogālhā suttajālasamatthitā  
Nāgasenakathā citrā opammehi nayehi ca.

Tattha nāṇam panidhāya hāsayitvāna inānasam  
suṇotha nipuṇe pañhe kankhāṭhānavidālane ti.

Tam�athā 'nusūyate. — Athi Yonakānam nānāpuṭa-  
bhedanam Sāgalān - nāma nagaram nadī-pabbata-sobhitām  
ramāṇīya-bhūmippadesabhāgam ārām-uyyānōpavana-ta-  
ṭāka-pokkharaṇī-sampannam nadī-pabbata-vana-rāma-  
neyyakām sutavantanimmitām nihata-paccatthika-paccā-  
mittām anupapīlitām vividha-vicitra-dalha-m-aṭṭāla-kotṭa-  
kām varapavara-gopuratoraṇam gambhīraparikhā-paṇḍara-  
pākāra-parikkhittantepuram suvibhatta-vīthi-caccara-ca-  
tukka-singhāṭakām suppasāritānekavidha-varabhaṇḍa-

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<sup>18</sup> anuppīlitām B. <sup>19</sup> -kotṭhakām ACM.

paripūritantarāpanam vividha-dānagga-sata-samupasobhitam Himagirisikharasankāsa-varabhavanasatasahassa-pati-  
maṇḍitam gaja-haya-ratha-patti-samākulam abhirūpa-  
naranāri-gaṇānucaritam ākiṇṇa-janamanussaṁ puthu-khat-  
tiya-brāhmaṇa-vessa-suddam vividha-samaṇabrāhmaṇa-  
sabhājana-sanghaṭitam bahuvidhavijjāvanta-naravīra-nise-  
vitaṁ Kāsika-Koṭumbarakādi-nānāvidha-vatthāpana-sam-  
pannam suppasārīta-rucira-bahuvidha-pupphagandhāpana-  
gandhagandhitam āśīmsaniya-bahuratana-paripūritam di-  
sāmukha-suppasārītāpana-singāravāṇijagaṇānucaritam ka-  
hāpana-rajata-suvaṇṇa-kāmsa-patthara-paripūraṁ paj-  
jotamāna-nidhi-niketaṁ pahūta-dhanadhañña-vittūpaka-  
ranam paripuṇṇa-kosakotthāgāram bāhv-annapānaṁ bahu-  
vidha-khajja-bhōjja-leyya-peyya-sāyanīyam Uttarakuru-  
sankāsaṁ sampannasāsām Ālakamandā viya devapuraṁ.

Ettha ṭhatvā tesam pubbakammam kathetabbaṁ, kathentena ca chaddhā vibhajitvā kathetabbaṁ, seyyathidam : Pubbayogo, Milindapañhaṁ, Lakkhaṇapañhaṁ, Menḍaka-  
pañhaṁ, Anumānapañhaṁ, Opammakathāpañhan-ti. Tattha Milindapañho : Lakkhaṇapañho Vimaticchedanapañho ti duvidho; Menḍakapañho pi : Mahāvaggo Yogikathāpañho ti duvidho.

Pubbayogo ti tesam pubbakammaṁ. Atīte kira Kassapassa bhagavato sāsane vattamāne Gangāya samīpe ekasmim āvāse mahābhikkhusangho pativasati. Tattha vattasīlasampannā bhikkhū pāto va utṭhāya yaṭṭhisam-  
muñjaniyo ādāya buddhaguṇe āvajjentā angaṇaṁ sammaj-  
jītvā kacavaraṁ byūhaṁ karonti. Ath' eko bhikkhu ekan  
sāmaneraṁ : ehi sāmanera, imāṁ kacavaraṁ chaddhēhīti  
āha; so asuṇanto viya gacchatī. So dutiyam - pi tatiyam - pi  
āmantiyamāno asuṇanto viya gacchat' eva. Tato so  
bhikkhu : dubbaco ayaṁ sāmanero ti kuddho sammuñ-

<sup>6</sup> saughāṭitam AaC. <sup>7</sup> Kodu- M. <sup>10</sup> -singāri- BC. <sup>13</sup> bavha- D;  
bahunna- M. <sup>17</sup> chadhā AM. <sup>29</sup> chadh- A throughout.

janidandena pahāram adāsi. Tato so rodanto bhayena kacavaram chaddento: Iminā 'ham kacavarachaddana-puñnakamma yāvāham nibbānam pāpuñāmi etth' antare nibbattanibbattatthāne majjhantikasuriyo viya mahesakkho mahātejo bhaveyyan ti pañthamapatthanam patthapesi. Kacavaram chaddetvā nahānathāya Gangātitthām gato Gangāy ūmivegam gaggarāyamānam disvā: Yāvāham nibbānam pāpuñāmi etth' antare nibbattanibbattatthāne ayaṁ ūmivego viya thānuppattikāpatibhāno bhaveyyam akkhayapañibhāno ti dutiyam pi patthanam patthapesi. So pi bhikkhu sammuñjanisälāya sammuñjanim thapetvā nahānathāya Gangātitthām gacchanto sāmanerassa patthanam sutvā: esa mayā payojito pi tāva evam pattheti, mayam kiñ na samijbhissatī cintetvā: Yāvāham nibbānam pāpuñāmi etth' antare nibbattanibbattatthāne ayaṁ Gangāūmivego viya akkhayapatibhāno bhaveyyam, iminā pucchitapucchitam sabbam pañhapañibhānam vijātetum nibbēhetum samattho bhaveyyan ti patthanam patthapesi. Te ubho pi devesu ca manusse su ca sāmsarantā ekam buddhantaram khepesum. Atha amhākam Bhagavatā pi yathā Moggaliputta-Tissatthero dissati evam ete pi dis-santi: Mama parinibbānato pañcavassasate atikkante ete uppajjissanti, yaṁ mayā sukhumām katvā desitam dhammavinayaṁ tam ete pañhapuchchana-opammayutti-vasena nijjataṁ niggumbam katvā vibhajissantī nidditthā.

Tesu sāmañero Jambudīpe Sāgalanagare Milindo nāma rājā ahosi, pañdito byatto medhāvī patibalo, atī-tānāgata-paccuppannānam samantayogavidhānakiriyānam karanakāle nisammakārī hoti; bahūni c' assa satthāni uggahitāni honti, seyyathidam: suti sammuti sankhyā yogā nīti visesikā gañikā gandhabbā tikiçchā cātubbedā purāñā itihāsā jotisā māyā hetu mantānā yuddhā chandasā muddā,

<sup>9</sup> bhaveyyam akkhayap. bhaveyyanti AC. <sup>30</sup> sankhā A. <sup>31</sup> ganitā AC.

<sup>32</sup> jotiyā D, jotisana B, joti M. <sup>32</sup> chandāsā AC, chandasa B.

vacanena ekūnavisati; vādī durāsado duppasaho, puthutit-thakarānam aggam - akkhāyati; sakala-Jambudīpe Milindena rāññā samo koci nāhosī, yad - idam thāmena javena sūriyena paññāya, adhho mahaddhano mahābhogo, anantabalavāhano.

Ath' ekadivasam Milindo rājā anantabalavāhanam catūranginim balaggasenābyūham dassanakamyatāya nāgarā nikhamitvā bahinagare senāganānam kāretvā so rājā bhassappavādako lokāyata-vitāñḍa-janasallāpa-ppavattakotūhalo suriyām olketvā amacce āmantesi: Bahutāva divasāvaseso, kim karissāma idān' eva nagaram pavisitvā; atthi koci paññito samano vā brāhmaṇo vā sangī ganī ganācariyo, api arahantām sammāsambuddham patijānamāno, yo mayā saddhiṁ sallapitum sakkoti kan-kham paṭivinetu - ti. Evam vutte pañcasatā Yonakā rājānam Milindam etad - avocum: Atthi mahārāja cha satthāro: Pūrano Kassapo, Makkhali Gosālo, Nigantho Nātaputto, Sañjayo Belatthiputto, Ajito Kesakambalī, Pakudho Kaccāyano, te sanghino ganino ganācariyakā nātā yasassino titthakarā, sādhusammatā bahujanassa, gaccha tvam mahārāja, te pañhañc pucchassu kankham paṭivinayassuti.

Atha kho Milindo rājā pañcahi Yonakasatehi pari-vuto bhadravāhanam rathavaram - āruyha yena Pūrano Kassapo ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā Pūrañena Kassapena saddhiṁ sammodi, sammodanīyām kathām sārāñīyām vītisāretvā ekamantām nisidi. Ekamantām nisinno kho Milindo rājā Pūrañam Kassapain etad - avoca: Ko bhante Kassapa lokam pāletīti. — Paṭhavī mahārāja lokam pāletīti. — Yadi bhante Kassapa paṭhavī lokam pāleti atha kasmā Avīcinirayam gacchantā sattā paṭhavim

<sup>4</sup> suriyena AaC, sūrena Ab, surena DM. <sup>7</sup> caturangini B. <sup>17</sup> Pūrano all throughout. <sup>18</sup> Nātha- A, Nāṭa- M. <sup>19</sup> Belatthiputto ACD. <sup>19</sup> Kākudho BC.

atikkamitvā gacchantīti. — Evaṁ vutte Pūraṇo Kassapo n'eva sakkhi ogilitum n'eva sakkhi uggilitum, pattakkhandhō tuṇhībhūto pajjhāyanto nisīdi.

Atha kho Milindo rājā Makkhali-Gosālam etad-avoca: Atthi bhante Gosāla kusalākusalāni kammāni, atthi su-kaṭa-dukkatānam kammānam phalam vipāko ti. Nattthi mahārāja kusalākusalāni kammāni, na-tthi sukaṭa-dukkatānam kammānam phalam vipāko, ye te mahārāja idhaloke khattiya te paralokam gantvā pi puna khattiya va bhavissanti, ye te brāhmaṇā vessā suddā caṇḍālā pukkusā te paralokam gantvā pi puna brāhmaṇā vessā suddā caṇḍālā pukkusā va bhavissanti, kiṁ kusalākusalehi kammehi. — Yadi bhante Gosāla idhaloke khattiya brāhmaṇā vessā suddā caṇḍālā pukkusā paralokam gantvā pi puna khattiya brāhmaṇā vessā suddā caṇḍālā pukkusā va bhavissanti, na-tthi kusalākusalehi kammehi karaṇiyām; tena hi bhante Gosāla ye te idhaloke hatthacchinna te paralokam gantvā pi puna hatthacchinna va bhavissanti, ye pādacchinna te pādacchinna va bhavissanti, ye kaṇṇanāsacchinna te kaṇṇanāsacchinna va bhavissantīti. — Evaṁ vutte Gosālo tuṇhī ahosi.

Atha kho Milindassa rañño etad-ahosi: Tuccho vata bho Jambudipo, palāpo vata bho Jambudipo, na-tthi koci samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā yo mayā saddhim sallapitum sakkoti kankham paṭivinetun-ti. Atha kho Milindo rājā amacce āmantesi: Ramaṇiyā vata bho dosinā ratti, kan-nu khv-ajja samaṇām vā brāhmaṇām vā upasankameyyāma pañham pucchitum, ko mayā saddhim sallapitum sakkoti kankham paṭivinetun-ti. Evaṁ vutte amaccā tuṇhībhūtā rañño mukham olokayamānā aṭṭhamāsu.

Tena kho pana samaṇena Sāgalaṇagaram dvādasa vassāni suññām ahosi samaṇa-brāhmaṇa-gahapati-paṇḍitehi; yattha samaṇa-brāhmaṇa-gahapati-paṇḍitā paṭivasantīti sunāti tattha gantvā rājā te pañham pucchatī;

te sabbe pi pañhavissajjanena rājānam ārādhetum asa-kontā yena vā tena vā pakkamanti, ye aññam disam na pakkamanti te sabbe tunhībhūta acchanti. Bhikkhū pana yebhuyyena Himavantam - eva gacchanti.

Tena kho pana samayena koṭisatā arahanto Himavante pabbate Rakkhitatale paṭivasantī. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto dibbāya sotadhātuyā Milindassa rañño vacanam sutvā Yugandharamathake bhikkhusangham sannipātētvā bhikkhū pucchi: Atth' āvuso koci bhikkhu paṭibalo Milindena raññā saddhim sallapitum kankham paṭivinetun - ti. Evam vutte koṭisatā arahanto tunhī ahesum. Dutiyam - pi kho tatiyam - pi kho putthā tunhī ahesum. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto bhikkhusangham etad - avoca: Atth' āvuso Tāvatiṁsabhavane Vejayantassa pācīnato Ketumati nāma vimānam, tattha Mahāseno nāma devaputto pativasati, so paṭibalo tena Milindena raññā saddhim sallapitum kankham paṭivinetun - ti. Atha kho koṭisatā arahanto Yugandharapabbate antarahitā Tāvatiṁsabhavane pāturaheśum.

Addasā kho Sakko devānam - indo te bhikkhū dūrato va āgacchante, disvāna yen' āyasmā Assagutto ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā āyasmantam Assaguttam abhivādetvā ekamantam atthāsi. Ekamantam thito kho Sakko devānam - indo āyasmantam Assaguttam etad - avoca: Mahā kho bhante bhikkhusangho anuppatto, aham sanghassa ārāmiko, ken' attho, kim mayā karaṇīyan - ti. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto Sakkam devānam - indam etad - avoca: Ayaṁ kho mahārāja Jambudipe Sāgalanagare Milindo nāma rājā, vādī durāsado duppasaho, putthutitthakarānam aggam - akkhāyati, so bhikkhusangham upasankamitvā ditthivādena pañham pucchitvā bhikkhusangham vihethetīti. Atha kho Sakko devānam - indo āyasmantam Assaguttam etad - avoca: Ayaṁ kho bhante Milindo rājā ito cuto manussesu uppanno; esu kho bhante Ketumatiṁvīnāne Mahāseno nāma devaputto paṭivasati, so

tena Milindena raññā saddhim pañibalo sallapitum kan-  
kham pañivinetum, tam devaputtam yacissama manussa-  
lokūpapattiyā ti.

Atha kho Sakko devānam - indo bhikkhusangham  
purakkhatvā Ketumativimānam pavisitvā Mahāsenam deva-  
puttam ālingitvā etad - avoca: Yācati tam mārisa bhik-  
khusangho manussalokūpapattiyā ti. -- Na me bhante  
manussaloken' attho kammabahulena, tibbo manussaloko,  
idh' evāham bhante devaloke uparūparuppattiko hutvā  
parinibbāyissāmīti. Dutiyam - pi kho tatiyam - pi kho  
Sakke devānam - inde yacante Mahāseno devaputto evam-  
āha: Na me bhante manussaloken' attho kammabahu-  
lena, tibbo manussaloko, idh' evāham bhante devaloke  
uparūparuppattiko hutvā parinibbāyissāmīti. Atha kho  
āyasmā Assagutto Mahāsenam devaputtam etad - avoca:  
Idha mayam mārisa sadevakam lokam anuvilokayamānā  
aññatra tayā Milindassa rañño vādaṁ bhinditvā sāsanam  
paggahetum samattham aññam kañci na passāma, yācati  
tam mārisa bhikkhusangho: sādu sappurisa, manussaloke  
nibbattitvā Dasabalassa sāsanam paggañhitvā dehīti.  
Evam vutte Mahāseno devaputto: aham kira Milindassa  
rañño vādaṁ bhinditvā sāsanam paggañhetum samattho  
bhavissāmīti haññatuñño udaggudaggo hutvā: Sādu  
bhante, manussaloke uppajjissāmīti patiññam adāsi.

Atha kho te' bhikkhū devaloke tam karanīyam tīre-  
tvā devesu Tāvatiñsesu antarahitā Himavante pabbate  
Rakkhitatale pāturañhesum. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto  
bhikkhusangham etad - avoca: Atth' āvuso imasmin bhik-  
khusanghe koci bhikkhu sannipatam anāgato ti. Evam  
vutte aññataro bhikkhu āyasmantam Assaguttam etad -  
avoca: Atthi bhante, āyasmā Rohano ito sattame divase

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<sup>9</sup> uparūparūpapattiko D, uparūpariupappattiko M, either time. <sup>11</sup> Sakko  
devānamindo all. <sup>18</sup> kiñci all. <sup>20</sup> paggañhāhīti M.

Himavantam pabbatam pavisitvā nirodham samāpanno, tassa santike dūtam pāhethātī. Āyasmā pi Rohaṇo tam khaṇañ - ñeva nirodhā vutthāya: sangho mām patimānetīti Himavante pabbate antarahito Rakkhitatale koṭisatānam arahantānam purato pātūrahosi. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto āyasmantam Rohaṇam etad - avoca: Kīn - nu kho āvuso Rohana buddhasāsane palujjante na passasi sanghassa karaplyānīti. — Amanasikāro me bhante aho-sīti. — Tena h' āvuso Rohaṇa dandakammañ karohīti. — Kim bhante karomīti. — Atth' āvuso Rohaṇa ·Himavantapabbatapasse Kajangalan - nāma brāhmaṇagāmo, tattha Sonuttaro nāma brāhmaṇo pativasati, tassa putto uppajjissati Nāgaseno nāma dārako; tena hi tvam āvuso Rohaṇa dasamāsādhikāni satta vassāni tañ kulañ pindāya pavisa, pindāya pavisitvā Nāgasenam dārakam nīharitvā pabbajehi, pabbajite ca tasmiñ dandakammato muccissasīti āha. Ayasmā pi kho Rohaṇo: sādhūti sam-paṭicchi.

Mahāseno pi kho devaputto devalokā cavitvā Sonuttarabrahmaṇassa bhariyāya kucchismiñ paṭisandhiñ aggahesi. Saha paṭisandhigahañā tayo acchariyā abbhutā dhammā pātūrāhesuṁ: āvudhabhaṇḍāni pajjaliṁsu, aggasassam abhinippahnañ, mahāmegho abhippavassi. Ayasmā pi kho Rohaṇo tassa paṭisandhigahañato patthāya dasamāsādhikāni sattā vassāni tañ kulañ pindāya pavisanto ekadivasam - pi kāṭacchumattam bhattam vā ulunkamattam yāgum vā abhivādānam vā añjalikammañ vā sāmīcikammañ vā nālattha, atha kho akkosañ - ñeva paribhāsañ - ñeva paṭilabhati, aticchatha bhante ti vacanamattam - pi vattā nāma nāhosī. Dasamāsādhikānam pana sattannam vassānam accayena ekadivasam aticchatha bhante ti vacanamattam alattha. Tañ divasam - eva ca brāhmaṇo pi

bahikammantā āgacchanto pātipatthe theram disvā: Kim bho pabbajita amhākām geham - agamatthāti āha. — Ama brāhmaṇa, agamamhāti. — Api kiñci labhitthāti. — Ama brāhmaṇa, labhimhāti. So anattamano geham gantvā pucchi: Tassa pabbajitassa kiñci adatthāti. — Na kiñci adamhāti.

Brāhmaṇo dutiyadivase gharadvāre yeva nisidi: ajja pabbajitam musāvādena niggahessāmīti. Thero dutiyadivase brāhmaṇassa gharadvāram sampatto; brāhmaṇo theram disvā va evam - āha: Tumhe hiyyo amhākām gehe kiñci alabhitvā yeva labhimhāti avocutta, vatthati nu kho tumhākām musāvādo ti. Thero āha: Mayam brāhmaṇa tumhākām gehe dasamāsādhikāni satta vassāni aticchathāti vacanamattam - pi alabhitvā hiyyo aticchathāti vacanamattaṁ alabhimha, ath' etam vacīpatisanthāram upādāya evam - avocumhāti. Brāhmaṇo cintesi: ime vācā-patisanthāramattam - pi labhitvā janamajjhe labhimhāti pasāmanti, aññam kiñci khādaniyam vā. bhojaniyam vā labhitvā kasmā na - ppasāmantisāti pasīditvā attano atthāya pātiyāditabhattato kaṭacchubhikkham tadūpiyañ - ca byañ-janam dāpetvā: Imam bhikkham sabbakālam tumhe labhissathāti āha. So punadivasato - ppabhuti upasankamantassa therassa upasamam disvā bhiyyosomattāya pasīditvā theram niccakālam attano ghare bhattavissaggakaranatthāya yāci. Thero tūphibhāvena adhivāsetvā divase divase bhattakiccam kātvā gacchanto thokam thokam buddhavacanam kathetvā gacchati.

Sā pi kho brāhmaṇi dasamāsaccayena puttam vijāyi, Nāgaseno ti 'ssa nāmam ahosi. So anukkamena vad-dhanto sattavassiko jāto. Atha kho Nāgasenassa dārakassa pitā Nāgasenam dārakam etad - avoca: Imasmim

<sup>2</sup> āgamathāti DM. <sup>3</sup> āgam- CDM. <sup>9</sup> sampatte AD (perhaps to be read there . . . sampatte). <sup>10</sup> va om. D. <sup>15</sup> vacanapatisanthāramattam AD. <sup>26</sup> thokathokam B.

kho tāta Nāgasena brāhmaṇakule sikkhāni sikkheyāsīti. — Katamāni tāta imasmīm brāhmaṇakule sikkhāni nāmāti. — Tayo kho tāta Nāgasena vedā sikkhāni nāma, avasesāni sippāni sippām nāmāti. — Tena hi tāta sikkhisāmīti. — Atha kho Soṇuttaro brāhmaṇo ācariyabrāhmaṇassa ācariyabhāgām sahassām datvā antopāsāde ekasmīm gabbe ekato mañcakām paññāpetvā ācariyabrāhmaṇām etad-avoca: Sajjhāyāpehi kho tvām brāhmaṇa imām dārakām mantānīti. — Tena hi tāta dāraka ugghanāhi mantānīti ācariyabrāhmaṇo sajjhāyati. Nāgasenassa dārakassa eken' eva uddesena tayo vedā hadayangatā vācuggatā sūpadhāritā suvavathāpitā sumanasikatā ahesum, sakim - eva cakkhuṁ udapādi tīsu vedesu sa-nighāṇḍu-ketubhesu sākkharappabhedesu itihāsapāñcamesu, padako veyyākarāṇo lokāyata-mahāpurisalakkhaṇesu anavayo ahosi. Atha kho Nāgaseno dārako pitaram etad-avoca: Atthi nu kho tāta imasmīm brāhmaṇakule ito uttarim - pi sikkhitabbāni, udāhu ettakān' evāti. — Na - tthi tāta Nāgasena imasmīm brāhmaṇakule ito uttarim sikkhitabbāni, ettakān' eva sikkhitabbānīti. — Atha kho Nāgaseno dārako ācariyassa anuyogām, datvā pāsādā oruyha pubbavāsanāya coditahadayo rahogato patisallīno attano sippassa ādi-majjha-pariyosānaṁ olokento ādimhi vā majjhe vā pariyosāne vā appamattakam - pi sāram adisvā: tucchā vata bho ime vedā, palāpā vata bho ime vedā, asārā nissārā ti vippaṭisārī anattamano ahosi.

Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Rohaṇo Vattaniye senāsane nisinno Nāgasenassa dārakassa cetasā cetopari-vitakkam - aññāya nivāsetvā pattacīvaram - ādāya Vattaniye senāsane antarahito Kajangala-brāhmaṇagāmassa purato pāturaḥosi. Addasā kho Nāgaseno dārako attano dvārakotthake thito āyasmantam Rohaṇām dūrato va āgac-chantam, disvāna attamano udaggo pamudito pītisomanas-sajāto: app - eva nāmāyām pabbajito kadāci sāram jāneyyāti yen' āyasmā Rohaṇo ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā

āyasmantam Rohaṇam etad - avoca: Ko. nu kho tvaṁ mārisa, ediso bhaṇḍu kāsāvavasano ti. — Pabbajito nāmāham dārakāti. — Kena tvaṁ mārisa pabbajito nāmāsīti. — Pāpakānam malānam pabbājetum pabbajito, tasmā 'ham dāraka pabbajito nāmāti. — Kinkāraṇā mārisa kesā te na yathā aññesan - ti. — Solas' ime dāraka palibodhe disvā kesamassum ohāretvā pabbajito, katame solasa: alankārapalibodho maṇḍanapalibodho telamakkhanapalibodho dhovanapalibodho mālāpalibodho gandhanapalibodho vāsanapalibodho harītakapalibodho āmalakapalibodho rangapalibodho bandhanapalibodho kocchopalibodho kappakapalibodho vijatānapalibodho ūkāpalibodho, kesesu vilūnesu socanti kilamanti paridevanti urattāliṁ kandanti sammoham - āpajjanti, imesu kho dāraka solasa-palibodhesu paligunṭhitā manussā sabbāni atisukhumāni sippāni nāsentīti. — Kinkāraṇā mārisa vatthāni pi te na yathā aññesan - ti. — Kāmanissitāni kho dāraka vatthāni kamanīyāni gihibyañjanāni, yāni kānicī kho bhayāni vatthato uppajjanti tāni kāsāvavasanassa na honti, tasmā vatthāni pi me na yathā aññesan - ti. — Jānāsi kho tvaṁ mārisa sippāni nāmāti. — Āma dāraka, jānām' ahaṁ sippāni, yaṁ loke uttamām mantam tam - pi jānāmīti. — Mayham - pi tam mārisa dātum sakkā ti. — Āma dāraka, sakkā ti. — Tena hi me dehīti. — Akālo kho dāraka, antaragharam piṇḍāya pavīṭh' amhāti.

Atha kho Nāgaseno dārako āyasmato Rohaṇassa hatthato pattām gahetvā gharam pavesetvā paññetenā khādaniyena bhajaniyena sahatthā santappetvā sampavāretvā āyasmantam Rohaṇam bhuttāvīm onītapattapāñīm etad - avoca: Dehi me dāni mārisa mantan - ti. — Yadā kho tvaṁ dāraka nippalibodho hutvā mātāpitaro anujānāpetvā mayā gahitam pabbajitavesam gaṇhissasi tadā dassāmīti āha. Atha kho

<sup>3</sup> nāma sīti C. <sup>9</sup> gandhapali- M. <sup>14</sup> solasasu M. <sup>23</sup> dātum sakkō all.

Nāgaseno dārako mātāpitaro upasankamitvā āha: Amma tāta, ayam pabbajito: yam loke uttamam mantam tam jānāmīti vadati, na ca attano santike apabbajitassa deti, aham etassa santike pabbajitvā tam mantam uggañhis-sāmīti. Ath' assa mātāpitaro: pabbajitvā pi no ·utto mantam gañhātu, gahetvā pun' āgacchatīti maññamānā: Gañha puttāti anujāniṁsu. Atha kho āyasmā Rohaṇo Nāgasenām dārakam ādāya yena Vattaniyām senāsanam yena Vijambhavatthu ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā Vijambhavatthusmīm senāsane ekarattim vasitvā yena Rakkhitatalam ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā koṭisatānam arahantānam majhe Nāgasenām dārakam pabbājesi. Pabbajito ca pan' āyasmā Nāgaseno āyasmantam Rohanām etad-avoca: Gahito me bhante tava veso, detha me dāni mantan - ti. Atha kho āyasmā Rohaṇo: kimhi nu kho 'ham Nāgasenām pañhamām vineyyam, Suttante vā Abhidhamme vā ti cintetvā: pañdito kho ayam Nāgaseno, sakkoti sukhen' eva Abhidhammām pari-yāpuñitun - ti pañhamām Abhidhamme vinesi. Āyasmā ca Nāgaseno: kusalā dhammā akusalā dhammā abyākata dhammā ti tika-duka-patimanditam Dhammasanganīm, khandhavibhangādi-ātthārasa-vibhangā-patimanditam Vibhangappakaraṇām, sangaho asangaho ti-ādinā cuddasavidhena vibhattam Dhātukathāpakaraṇām, khandha-paññatti-āyatanapaññattitī-ādinā chabbidhena vibhattam Puggalapaññattim, sakavāde pañca suttasatāni paravāde pañca suttasatānīti suttasahassam samodhānetvā vibhattam Kathāvatthuppakaraṇām, mūlayamakam khandhayamakan - ti-ādinā dasavidhena vibhattam Yamakam, hetupaccayo ārammaṇapaccayo ti-ādinā catuvīsatividhena vibhattam Patthānappakaraṇām eken' eva sajjhāyena paguṇam katvā:

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<sup>4</sup> Dhātukathāpakaraṇām AC.

Tiṭṭhatha bhante, na puna osāretha, ettaken' evāham  
sajjhāyissāmīti āha.

Ath' āyasmā Nāgaseno yena kotisatā arahanto ten'  
upasankami, upasankamitvā koṭisatānam arahantānam  
etad - avoca: Aham kho bhante kusalā dhammā akusalā  
dhammā abyākata dhammā ti imesu tīsu padesu pakkhi-  
pitvā sabban - tam Abhidhammapiṭakaṁ vitthārena osā-  
ressāmīti. — Sādu Nāgasena, osārehīti. — Atha kho  
āyasmā Nāgaseno satta māsāni satta - ppakaraṇe vitthā-  
rena osāresi; paṭhavī unnadi, devatā sādhukāram - adamīsu,  
brahmāno apphoṭesum, dibbāni candanacūṇāni dibbāni ca  
mandāravapupphāni abhippavassiṁsu. Atha kho kotisatā  
arahanto āyasmantam Nāgasenam paripuṇṇavīsativassam  
Rakkhitatale upasampādesum. Upasampanno ca pan'  
āyasmā Nāgaseno tassā rattiya accayena pubbanhasamayaṁ  
nivāsetvā pattacīvaram - ādāya upajjhāyena saddhiṁ gā-  
maṇiṁ piṇḍāya pavisanto evarūpaṁ parivitakkam uppādesi:  
tuccho vata me upajjhāyo, bālo vata me upajjhāyo, tha-  
petvā avasesai buddhavacanām pathamām mām Abhi-  
dhamme vinesīti. Atha kho āyasmā Rohaṇo āyasmato  
Nāgasenassa cetasā cetoparivitakkam - aññāya āyasmantam  
Nāgasenam etad - avoca: Ananucchaviyām kho Nāgasena  
parivitakkam vitakkesi, na kho pan' etaṁ Nāgasena ta-  
vānucchaviyan - ti. Atha kho āyasmato Nāgasenassa etad-  
ahosi: acchariyām vata bho, abbhutaṁ vata bho, yatra  
hi nāma me upajjhāyo cetasā cetoparivitakkam jānissati,  
paṇḍito vata me upajjhāyo, yan - nūnāham upajjhāyaiṁ  
khamāpeyyan - ti. Atha kho āyasmā Nāgaseno āyasmantam  
Rohaṇam etad - avoca: Khamatha me bhante, na  
puna evarūpaṁ vitakkessāmīti.

Atha kho āyasmā Rohaṇo āyasmantam Nāgasenam

<sup>11</sup> apphoṭhesum D, appoṭhesum ABC. <sup>15</sup> pubbanha- all throughout  
except B.

etad - avoca: Na kho tyāham Nāgasena ettāvatā khamāmi, atthi kho Nāgasena Sāgalam nāma nagaram, tattha Milindo nāma rājā rajjam kāreti, so ditthivādena pañham pucchitvā bhikkhusangham viheśheti, sace tvam tattha gantvā tam rājānam dametvā pasādessasi evāhan - tam khamissāmīti. — Tiṭṭhatu bhante eko Milindo rājā, sace bhante sakala-Jambudipe sabbe rājāno āgantvā mañ pañham puccheyyum sabban - tam vissajjetvā sampadāles-sāmi, khamatha me bhante ti vatvā: Na khanāmīti vutte: Tena hi bhante imam temāsam kassa santike vasissāmīti āha. — Ayam kho Nāgasena āyasmā Assagutto Vattaniye senāsane viharati, gaccha tvam Nāgasena, yen' āyasmā Assagutto ten' upasankama, upasankamitvā mama vacanena āyasmato Assaguttassa pāde sirasā vanda, evañ - ca nam vadehi: upajjhāyo me bhante tumhākam pāde sirasā vandati, appābādham appātankam lahuṭṭhānam balam phāsuvihāram pucchati, imam temāsam tumhākam santike vasitum mani pahiññti; konāmo te upajjhāyo ti ca vutte: Rohanatthero nāma bhante ti vadeyyāsi; aham konāmo ti ca vutte evam vadeyyāsi: mama upajjhāyo bhante tumhākam nāmam jānātīti. Evam bhante ti kho āyasmā Nāgaseno āyasmantam Rohanam abhivādetvā padakkhiṇam katvā pattacīvaram - ādāya anupubbenā cārikam caramāno yena Vattaniyam senāsanam yen' āyasmā Assagutto ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā āyasmantam Assaguttam abhivādetvā ekamantam atthāsi. Ekamantam tħito kho āyasmā Nāgaseno āyasmantam Assaguttam etad - avoca: Upajjhāyo me bhante tumhākam pāde sirasā vandati, evañ - ca vadeti: appābādham appātankam lahuṭṭhānam balam phāsuvihāram pucchati, upajjhāyo mani bhante imam temāsam tumhākam santike vasitum pahiññti. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto āyasmantam Nāgasenam etad - avoca:

Tvām kinnāmo 'sīti. — Aham bhante Nāgaseno nāmāti. — Konāmo te upajjhāyo ti. — Upajjhāyo me bhante Rohanathero nāmāti. — Aham konāmo ti. — Upajjhāyo me bhante tumhākam nāmarū jānātīti. — Sādhu Nāgasena, paccīvaraṁ paṭisāmehīti. — Sādhu bhante ti paccīvaraṁ paṭisāmetvā punadivase pariveṇam sammajjītvā mukhodakam dantaponam upaṭṭhāpesi. Thero sammat-ṭaṭṭhānam paṭisammajji, tam udakam chaddetvā aññam udakam āhari, tañ-ca dantakaṭṭham apanetvā aññam dantakaṭṭham gaṇhi, na allāpasallāpam akāsi. Evaṁ satta divasāni katvā sattame divase puna pucchitvā puna tena tath' eva vutte vassāvāsañ anujāni.

Tena kho pana samayena ekā mahāupāsikā āyasmantā Assaguttām tiṁsamattāni vassāni upaṭṭhāsi. Atha kho sā mahāupāsikā temāsaccayena yen' āyasmā Assagutto ten' upasankamī, upasankamitvā āyasmantā Assaguttām etad-avoca: Atthi nu kho tāta tumhākam santike añño bhikkhūti. — Atthi mahāupāsike amhākam santike Nāgaseno nāma bhikkhūti. — Tena hi tāta Assagutta adhivāsehi Nāgasenena saddhiṁ svātanāya bhattan-ti. — Adhivāsesi kho āyasmā Assagutto tuṇhībhāvena. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto tassā rattiya accayena pubban-hasamayam nivāsetvā paccīvaraṁ-ādāya āyasmata Nāgasenena saddhiṁ pacchāsamaṇena yena mahāupāsikāya nivesanām ten' upasankamī, upasankamitvā paññatte āsane nisidi. Atha kho sā mahāupāsikā āyasmantā Assaguttām āyasmantañ-ca Nāgasenām paññena khādaniyena bhojaniyena sahatthā santappesi sampavāresi. Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto bhuttāvī onītapattapāni āyasmantā Nāgasenām etad-avoca: Tvaṁ Nāgasena mahāupāsikāya anumodanām karohīti. Idam vatvā utṭhāy' āsanā pakkāmi.

<sup>7</sup> sammaddhaṭṭhānam B, sammatṭhaṭṭhānam Ca, sammajjaṭṭhānam DM, sammajjanāṭṭhānam ACb. <sup>27</sup> āyasmantañca Nāgasenāñca BC, āyasmantā Nāgasenāñca A.

Atha kho sā mahāupāsikā āyasmantam Nāgasenam etad-avoca: Mahallikā kho 'ham tāta Nāgasena, gambhīrāya dhammakathāya mayham anumodanam karohīti. Atha kho āyasmā Nāgaseno tassā mahāupāsikāya gambhīrāya Abhidhammakathāya lokuttarāya suññatāpatisaṁyuttāya anumodanam akāsi. Atha kho tassā mahāupāsikāya tasmin yeva āsane virajam vitamalam dhammacakkhuṁ udapādi: yam kiñci samudayadhammaṁ sabban - tam nirodhadhamman - ti. Āyasmā pi kho Nāgaseno tassā mahāupāsikāya anumodanam katvā attanā desitam dhammaṁ pāccavekkhanto vipassanam paṭṭhapetvā tasmiṁ yeva āsane nisinno sotāpattiphale patitthāsi.

Atha kho āyasmā Assagutto mandalamāle nisinno vadinnam - pi dhammacakkhupatībhām ñatvā sādhukāram pavattesi: Sādhu sādhu Nāgasena, ekena kaṇḍappahārena dve mahākāya padālīta ti. Anekāni ca devatāsaṁhāraṁ sādhukāram pavattesum. Atha kho āyasmā Nāgaseno utthāy' āsanā yen' āyasmā Assagutto ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā āyasmantam Assaguttam abhivādetvā ekamantam nisidi. Ekamantam nisinnam kho āyasmantam Nāgasenam āyasmā Assagutto etad-avoca: Gaccha tvam Nāgasena Pāṭaliputtaṁ, Pāṭaliputtanagare Aso-kārāme āyasmā Dhammarakkhito paṭivasati, tassa santike buddhavacanam pariyāpuṇāhīti. — Kīva dūre bhante ito Pāṭaliputtanagarān - ti. — Yojanasatāni kho Nāgasenāti. — Dūro kho bhante maggo, antarāmagge bhikkhā dullabhā, kathāham gamissāmīti. — Gaccha tvam Nāgasena, antarāmagge piṇḍapātam labhissasi, sālinam odanam vicitakālakam anekasūpām anekabayañjanan - ti. — Evam bhante ti kho āyasmā Nāgaseno āyasmantam Assaguttam abhivādetvā padakkhiṇam katvā pattacīvaram - ādāya yena Pāṭaliputtam tena cārikaṁ pakkāmi.

<sup>7</sup> ñeva B. <sup>24</sup> dūro ABCD. <sup>25</sup> Tiyojanasatāni should probably be the reading.

Tena kho pana samayena Pāṭaliputtako setṭhi pañcahi sakaṭasatehi Pāṭaliputtagāmimaggam paṭipanno hoti. Addasā kho Pāṭaliputtako setṭhi āyasmantam Nāgasenam dūrato va āgacchāntam, disvāna pañca sakaṭasatāni paṭipanāmetvā yen' āyasmā Nāgaseno ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā āyasmantam Nāgasenam abhivādetvā: Kuhim gacchasi tātāti āha. — Pāṭaliputtam gahapatīti. — Sādhu tāta, mayam - pi Pāṭaliputtam gacchāma, amhehi saddhim sukham gacchathāti. — Atha kho Pāṭaliputtako setṭhi āyasmato Nāgasenassa iriyāpathē pasiditvā āyasmantam Nāgasenam pañitenā khādaniyena bhojaniyena sahatthā santappetvā sampavāretvā āyasmantam Nāgasenam bhuttāvīn onītapattapānim aññataram nīcam āsanam gahetvā ekamantam nisīdi. Ekamantam nisinno kho Pāṭaliputtako setṭhi āyasmantam Nāgasenam etad - avoca: Kinnāmo si tvam tātāti. — Aham gahapati Nāgaseno nāmāti. — Jānāsi kho tvam tāta buddhavacanam nāmāti. — Jānāmi kho 'ham gahapati Abhidhammapadānīti. — Lābhā no tāta, suladdham no tāta, aham - pi kho tāta ābhidhammiko tvam - pi ābhidhammiko, bhaṇa tāta Abhidhammapadānīti. — Atha kho āyasmā Nāgaseno Pāṭaliputtakassa setṭhissa Abhidhammam desesi<sup>13</sup>, desente desente yeva Pāṭaliputtakassa setṭhissa virajañ vitamalam dhammacakkhuñ udapādi: yam kinci samudayadhammam sabban - tam nirodhadhamman - ti. Atha kho Pāṭaliputtako setṭhi pañcamattāni sakaṭasatāni purato uyyojetvā sayam pacchato gacchanto Pāṭaliputtassa avidūre dvedhāpathe thatvā āyasmantam Nāgasenam etad - avoca: Ayam kho tāta Nāgasena Asokārāmassa maggo; imam kho tāta mayham kambalaratanam soļasahattham āyāmena aṭṭhahattham vitthārena, patigāhāhi kho tāta imam kambalara-

<sup>13</sup> onītapattapānim disvā M. <sup>20</sup> abhidhammiko ACM the first time, CM the second. <sup>20</sup> bhaṇatha ACbM. <sup>23</sup> desente once CD. <sup>29</sup> idam AC.

tanam anukampam upādāyāti. Paṭiggahesi kho āyasmā Nāgaseno tam kambalaratanaṁ anukampam upādāya. Atha kho Pāṭaliputtako setṭhi attamano udaggo pamuditahdayo pītisomanassajāto āyasmantam Nāgasenam abhivādetvā padakkhiṇam katvā pakkāmi.

Atha kho āyasmā Nāgaseno yena Asokārāmo yen' āyasmā Dhammarakkhito ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā āyasmantam Dhammarakkhitam abhivādetvā attano āgata-kāraṇam kathetvā āyasmato Dhammarakkhitassa santike tepitakam buddhavacanam eken' eva uddesena tīhi māsehi byañjanato paryāpūnītvā puna tīhi māsehi atthato manasākāsi. Atha kho āyasmā Dhammarakkhito' āyasmantam Nāgasenam etad-avoca: Seyyathā pi Nāgasena gopālako gāvo rakkhati, aññe gorasam paribhuñjanti, evam eva kho tvam Nāgasena tepitakam buddhavacanam dhārente pi na bhāgī sāmaññassāti. — Hotu bhante, alam ettakenāti ten' eva divasabhāgena tena rattibhāgena saha patisambhidāhi arahattam pāpuṇi. Saha saccapaṭivedhena āyasmato Nāgasenassa sabbe devā sādhukāram-adamīsu, paṭhavī unnadi, brahmāno apphoṭesum, dibbāni candana-cūṇāni c' eva dibbāni ca mandāravapupphāni abhippavassīmu.

Tena kho pana samayena koṭisatā arahanto Himavante pabbate Rakkhitatale sannipatitvā āyasmato Nāgasenassa santike dūtam pāhesum: āgacchatu Nāgaseno, dassanakāmā mayam Nāgasenān-ti. Atha kho āyasmā Nāgaseno dūtassa vacanam sutvā Asokārāme antarahito Himavante pabbate Rakkhitatale koṭisatānam arahantānam purato pāturahosī. Atha kho koṭisatā arahanto āyasmantam Nāgasenam etad-avocum: Eso kho Nāgasena Milindo rājā bhikkhusangham viheṭheti vādapaṭivādena pañhapucchāya; sādhu Nāgasena, gaccha tvam Milindam

<sup>20</sup> apphoṭesum ABCD. <sup>21</sup> mandārapupphāni C

rājāpām damehīti. — Tiṭṭhatu bhante eko Milindo rājā, sace bhante sakala-Jambudīpe rājāno āgantvā mām pañhaṁ puccheyyūm sabban - tām vissajjetvā sampadālessāmi, gacchatha vo bhante asambhītā Sāgalanagarān - ti. — Atha kho therā bhikkhū Sāgalanagarām kāsāvapajjotām isivā-taparivatām akāmsu.

Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Ayupālo Sankhey-yapariveṇe paṭivasati. Atha kho Milindo rājā amacce etad - avoca: Ramanīyā vata bho dosinā ratti, kan - nu khv - ajja samaṇām vā brāhmaṇām vā upasankameyyāma sākacchāya pañhapucchanāya, ko mayā saddhiṁ salla-pitūm ussahati kankhaṁ paṭivinetu - ti. Evam vutte pañcasatā Yonakā rājānam Milindām etad - avocum: Atthi mahārāja Āyupālo nāma therō tepiṭako bahussuto āgatāgamo, so etarahi Sankheyyapariveṇe paṭivasati, gaccha tvām mahārāja, āyasmantām Āyupālam pañhaṁ pucchassūti. — Tena hi bhaṇe bhadantassa ārocethāti. — Atha kho nemittiko āyasmato Āyupālassa santike dūtam pā-hesi: rājā bhante Milindo āyasmantām Āyupālam dassanakāmo ti. Ayasmā pi kho Āyupalo evam - āha: Tena hi āgacchatūti. Atha kho Milindo rājā pañcamattehi Yonakasatehi parivuto rathavaram - āruyha yena Sankheyya-parivenām yen' āyasmā Ayupālo ten' upasankami, upasankamitvā āyasmatā Ayupālena saddhiṁ sammodi, sammodanīyām kathaṁ sārāṇīyām vītisāretvā ekamantām nisidi. Ekamantām nisino kho Milindo rāja āyasmantām Āyupālam etad - avoca: Kimatthiyā bhante Āyupāla tumhākaṁ pabbajjā, ko ca tunhākaṁ paramattho ti. — Thero āha: Dhammacariyasamacariyathā kho mahārāja pabbajjā ti. — Atthi pana bhante koci gihī pi dhammacāri samacāri ti. — Āma mahārāja, atthi gihī pi dhammacāri samacāri. Bhagavati kho mahārāja Bārāṇa-

<sup>9</sup> kinnu CDM. <sup>18</sup> nemittako DM. <sup>32</sup> bhagavatā ARCD.

siyaṁ Isipatane migadāye dhammacakkam pavattente aṭṭhārasannaṁ brahmakotinam dhammābhīsamayo ahosi, devatānam pana dhammābhīsamayo gaṇanapatham vītivatto; sabbe te gihibhūtā na pabbajitā. Puna ca paraṁ mahārāja Bhagavatā Mahāsamayasuttante desiyamāne, Mahāmangalasuttante desiyamāne, Samacittapariyāyasuttante desiyamāne, Rāhulovādasuttante desiyamāne, Parābhavasuttante desiyamāne gaṇanapatham - atītānam devatānam dhammābhīsamayo ahosi; sabbe te gihibhūtā na pabbajitā ti. — Tena hi bhante Āyupāla niratthikā tumhākam pabbajjā, pubbe katassa pāpakkamassa nissandena samanā Sakyaputtiyā pabbajanti dhutangāni ca pariharanti. Ye kho te bhante Āyupāla bhikkhū ekāsanikā nūna te pubbe paresam bhogahārakā corā, te paresam bhoge acchinditvā tassa kammassa nissandena etarahi ekāsanikā bhavanti, na labhanti kālena kālam paribhuñjituṁ, na - tthi tesam sīlam, na - tthi tapo, na - tthi brahmacariyam. Ye kho pana te bhante Āyupāla bhikkhū abbhokāsikā nūna te pubbe gāmaghātakā corā, te paresam gehāni vināsetvā tassa kammassa nissandena etarahi abbhokāsikā bhavanti, na labhanti senāsanāni paribhuñjituṁ, na - tthi tesam sīlam, na - tthi tapo, na - tthi brahmacariyam. Ye kho pana te bhante Ayupāla bhikkhū nesajjikā nūna te pubbe panthadūsakā corā, te panthike Jane gahetvā bandhitvā nisidāpetvā tassa kammassa nissandena etarahi nesajjikā bhavanti, na labhanti seyyam kappetum, na - tthi tesam sīlam, na - tthi tapo, na - tthi brahmacariyan - ti āha.

Evaṁ vutte āyasmā Āyupālo tuṇhī ahosi, na kiñci paṭibhāsi. Atha kho pañcasatā Yonakā rājānam Milindam etad - avocūm: Pañdito mahārāja thero, api ca kho avisārado na kiñci paṭibhāsatīti. Atha kho Milindo rājā āyasmantaṁ Āyupālam tuṇhībhūtam disvā appoṭhetvā

<sup>23</sup> pana om. ABC. <sup>32</sup> appoṭhetvā C, appoṭhetvā AB.

ukkuṭṭhim katvā Yonake etad-avoca: Tuccho vata bho Jambudīpo, palāpo vata bho Jambudīpo, na-tthi koci samāno vā brāhmaṇo vā yo mayā saddhiṁ sallapitum ussahati kankham paṭivinetu-ti. Atha kho Milindassa rañño sabban-tam parisaṁ anuvilokentassa abhīte amankubhūte Yonake disvā etad-ahosi: nissam̄sayam̄ atthi maññe añño koci pañdito bhikkhu yo mayā saddhiṁ sallapitum ussahati, yen' ime Yonakā na mankubhūtā ti. Atha kho Milindo rājā Yonake etad-avoca: Atthi bhaṇe añño koci pañdito bhikkhu yo mayā saddhiṁ sallapitum ussahati kankham paṭivinetu-ti.

Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Nāgaseno samanagāṇaparivuto sanghī gaṇī ganācariyo nāto yasassī sādhussammato bahujanassa pañdito byatto medhāvī nipiṇo viññū vibhāvī vinito visārado bahussuto tepiṭako vedagū pabbhinnabuddhimā āgatāgamo pabbhinnapaṭisambhido navangasatthusāsana-pariyattidharo pāramippatto jinavacane dhammattha-desanā-paṭivedha-kusalo akkhaya-vicitra-paṭibhāno citrakathī kalyānavākkarāṇo durāsado duppasaho duruttaro durāvaraṇo dunnivārayo, sāgaro viya akkhobhbo, girirājā viya niccalo, rāṇañjaho tamonudo pabhankaro, mahākathī paragaṇīgaṇa-mathano paratitthiya-maddano, bhikkhūnam bhikkhunīnam upāsakānam upāsikānam rājūnam rājamahāmattānam sakkato garukato mānito pūjito apacito, lābhī cīvara-piṇḍapāta-sevāsana-gilānappaccayabhesajja-parikkhārānam lābhagga-yasaggapatto, buddhānam viññūnam sotāvadhānenā samannāgatānam sandassento navangam jinasāsanaratanaṁ, upadisanto dhammañāggam, dhārente dhammapajjotam, ussāpentō dhammayūpam, yajanto dhammayāgam, pagganhāpentō dhammaddhajam, ussāpentō dhammaketum, uppajāsentō dhammasankham, āhananto dhammabherim, nadanto

<sup>6</sup> nissam̄sayam̄ kho atthi A. <sup>21</sup> rāṇañjaho viya Bb. <sup>22</sup> paratitthiya-pamaddano AC. <sup>28</sup> uddisanto D, upadassento M. <sup>29</sup> dhammakhaggam AaBCD. <sup>30</sup> uppalāpentō ACD, upadassento M.

sīhanādaṁ, gajjanto indagajjitaṁ, madhura-gira-gajjitenā  
ñānavaravijjujāla-parivethitena karunājala-bharitena ma-  
hatā dhammāmata-meghena sakalalokam - abhitappayanto,  
gāma-nigama-rājadhānīsu cārikaṁ caramāno anupubbena  
Sāgalanagaraṁ anuppatto hoti. Tatra sudām āyasmā  
Nāgaseno asītiyā bhikkhusahashehi saddhiṁ Sankheyya-  
parivenē paṭivasati. Ten' āhu:

Bahussuto citrakathī nipiṇo ca visārado  
sāmāyiko ca kusalo paṭibhāne ca kovidō.  
Te ca tepiṭakā bhikkhū pañcanekāyikā pi ca  
catunekāyikā c' eva Nāgasenām purakkharum.  
Gambhīrapañño medhāvī maggāmaggassa kovidō  
uttamatthān anuppatto Nāgaseno visārado  
Tehi bhikkhūhi parivuto nipiṇehi saccavādihi  
caranto gāmanigamām Sāgalām upasankami.  
Sankheyyaparivenāsmiñ Nāgaseno tadā vasi,  
katheti so manussehi pabbate kesarī yathā ti.

Atha kho Devamantiyō rājānām Milindām etad-avoca:  
Agamehi tvām mahārāja, āgamehi tvām mahārāja, atthi  
mahārāja Nāgaseno nāma thero pañdito byatto medhāvī  
vinito visārado bahussuto citrakathī kalyānapaṭibhāno,  
attha-dhamma-nirutti-paṭibhāna-paṭisambhidāsu pāramip-  
patto, so etarahi Sankheyyaparivenē paṭivasati, gaccha  
tvām mahārāja, āyasmantam Nāgasenām pañham puc-  
chassu, ussahati so tayā saddhiṁ sallapitum kankham  
paṭivinetun - ti. Atha kho Milindassa rāñño sahasā Nā-  
gaseno ti saddām sutvā va ahud - eva bhayaṁ, ahud -  
eva chambhitattam, ahud - eva lomahamso. Atha kho  
Milindo rājā Devamantiyām etad - avoca: Ussahati bho  
Nāgaseno bhikkhu mayā saddhiṁ sallapitun - ti. — Ussahati  
mahārāja api Inda-Yama-Varuṇa-Kuvera-Pajāpati-

<sup>2</sup> -vijjulatāpari- A. <sup>3</sup> sakalam AC. <sup>4</sup> -dhānīsu ABC.

Suyāma-Santusitalokapālehi pitupitāmahena Mahābrah-munā pi saddhiṁ sallapitum, kimanga pana manussa-bhūtenāti. — Atha kho Milindo rājā Devamantiyām etad-avoca: Tena hi tvām Devamantiya bhadantassa santike dūtam pesehīti. Evām dévāti kho Devamantiyo āyasmato Nāgasenassa santike dūtam pāhesi: rājā bhante Milindo āyasmantam dassanakāmo ti. Āyasmā pi kho Nāgaseno evam-āha: Tena hi āgacchatūti. Atha kho Milindo rājā pañcamattehi Yonakasatehi parivuto rathavaram-āruyha mahatā balakāyena saddhiṁ yena Sankheyayapari-venām yen' āyasmā Nāgaseno ten' upasankami.

Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Nāgaseno asītiyā bhikkhusahassehi saddhiṁ mandalamāle nisinno hoti. Addasā kho Milindo rājā āyasmato Nāgasenassa parisam dūrato va, disvāna Devamantiyām etad-avoca: Kass' esā Devamantiya mahatī parisā ti. — Āyasmato kho mahā-rāja Nāgasenassa parisā ti. — Atha kho Milindassa rañño āyasmato Nāgasenassa parisam dūrato va disvā ahud-eva bhayaṁ, ahud-eva chambhitattam, ahud-eva lomahaṁso. Atha kho Milindo rājā, khaggaparivārito viya gajo, garuļaparivārito viya nāgo, ajagaraparivārito viya kotthuko, mahisaparivārito viya accho, nāgānubaddho viya maṇḍuko, saddūlānubaddho viya migo, ahiguṇṭhikasamāgato viya pannago, majjārasamāgato viya unduro, bhūtavējjasamāgato viya pisāco, Rāhumukhogato viya cando, pannago viya peñtaragato, sakuno viya pañjarrantaragato, maccho viya jālantaragato, vālavanam-anup-paviṭṭho viya puriso, Vessavaññaparādhiko viya yakkho, parikkhīñāyuko viya devaputto, bhīto ubbiggo utrasto saṁviggo lomahaṭṭhajāto vimano dummano bhantacitto vipariññatamānaso: mā maiñ ayaṁ janō paribhavīti dhitīm upaṭṭhaphetvā Devamantiyām etad-avoca: Mā kho tvām

<sup>10</sup> mahatā ca AC. <sup>13</sup> -sahassena all. <sup>23</sup> maṇḍuko OM. <sup>23</sup> saddulā- C.

Devamantiya āyasmantaṁ Nāgasenaṁ mayhaṁ ācikkhey-  
yāsi, anakkhātañ - ñevāhaṁ Nāgasenaṁ jānissāmīti. —  
Sādhu mahārāja, tvañ - ñeva jānāhīti.

Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Nāgaseno tassā bhikkhuparisāya purato cattālisāya bhikkhusahassānaṁ navakataro hoti, pacchato cattālisāya bhikkhusahassānaṁ buddhataro. Atha kho Milindo rājā sabban - tam bhikkhusanghaṁ purato ca pacchato ca majjhato ca anuvilokento addasā kho āyasmantaṁ Nāgasenaṁ dūrato va bhikkhusanghassa majjhe nisinnam, kesarasīhaṁ viya vigatabhayabheravaṁ vigatalomahaiṁsaṁ vigatabhayasārajjam, disvāna ākāren' eva aññāsi: eso kho ettha Nāgaseno ti. Atha kho Milindo rājā Devamantiyam etad - avoca: Eso kho Devamantiya āyasmā Nāgaseno ti. — Āma · mahārāja, eso kho Nāgaseno, 'suṭṭhu kho tvam mahārāja Nāgasenaṁ aññāsīti. — Tato rājā tuṭṭho ahosi: anakkhāto va mayā Nāgaseno aññāto ti. Atha kho Milindassa rañño āyasmantaṁ Nāgasenaṁ disvā va ahud - eva bhayaṁ, ahud - eva chambhitattam, ahud - eva loma - haṁso. Ten' āhu:

Caranena c' eva sampannam, sudantam uttame dame,  
disvā rājā Nāgasenaṁ idam vacanam - abravi:

Kathikā mayā bahū ditṭhā, sākacchā osaṭā bahū,  
na tādisam bhayaṁ āsi ajja tāso yathā mama.

Nissamsayam parājayo mama ajja bhavissati,  
jayo ca Nāgasenassa, yathā cittam na sañṭhitam - ti.

Bāhirakathā nitthitā.

<sup>14</sup> eso kho mahārāja Nāgaseno BC. <sup>22</sup> abruvī AC. <sup>26</sup> jayo va AC.

## TRANSLATION.

King Milinda, of the excellent city of Sāgala, went to Nāgasena, as the Ganges rushes to the ocean.

After approaching that eloquent torchbearer, that dispeller of darkness, the king propounded to him many sagacious questions, turning on a variety of points.

And the answers given to those questions were of profound sense, gratifying and pleasing to hear, wonderful and stupendous.

Diving deeply into the Abhidhamma and the Vinaya, equal to make out the intricacies of the Sutta-piṭaka, Nāgasena's discourse glittered with similes and syllogisms.

Apply your whole soul to it, and make your hearts rejoice, by hearing the clever discussions, which will solve any doubtful points..

As handed down by tradition. — There is in the country of the Yonakas a fortified city called Sāgala, surrounded with a number of dependent towns, situated in a delightful country, adorned with rivers and hills, abounding in gardens, groves, woods, lakes, and tanks, a paradise of rivers, mountains, and forests, inhabited by a pious population, who know of no oppression, because all enemies

have been put down. The city is defended by a multiplicity of strong towers and ramparts, with superb gates and archways. The royal castle is surrounded by deep trenches and white walls. Streets, squares, cross roads, and market places, are well laid out; the bazars are filled with well-displayed merchandise of innumerable sorts. Among the principal ornaments of the city are several hundreds of alms-halls; next come hundreds of thousands of glorious palaces, vying in height with the peaks of the Himālaya. The streets are crowded with elephants, horses, carriages, and foot passengers; men and women of the greatest beauty are to be met with. The city is extremely populous, being inhabited by vast numbers of kshatriyas, brahmans, vaīyas, and çūdras, resounding with the welcome offered to different sects of ascetics and brahmans, resorted to by the greatest masters of the various arts and sciences. There are shops of every kind of stuffs, such as those from Bārāṇasi and Koṭumbara, and odours exhaling from the shops of well-displayed, beautiful, and manifold flowers and scents, perfume the whole town, which besides abounds in the most magnificent jewels. It is thronged with cloth merchants having shops gaily decked and facing the four quarters. Coined money, silver and gold vessels, and precious stones, abound there; it is the very home of dazzling treasures. There is plenty of wealth, grain, furnitures, utensils; stores and warehouses are well filled, nor is there any lack of multifarious provisions, of hard and soft food, of syrups, beverages, and sweetmeats. It is like Uttarākuru, it resembles Ālakamandā, the city of the Gods.

Here we must stop to relate the previous history of those two persons (Milinda and Nāgasena), which must be done by dividing the subject into six parts, viz., the Pubbayoga (or merits acquired in former existences), the Mi-

linda questions, the discussion on definitions, the equivocal problems, the questions concerning inductions, and the discussion of similarities. The Milinda questions again are twofold: those turning on definitions, and those aiming at dispelling of doubt. The equivocal problems likewise are twofold: the great chapter, and the discussion on yogis.

The Pubbayoga are the former deeds of those two persons. Namely, in times past, when the religion of Kassapa Buddha was in force, there lived in a certain monastery near the Ganges a great community of priests. These priests, true to established rules and duties, every morning took up the long-handled brooms, and while meditating on the qualities of Buddha, cleaned the courtyard and made the sweepings into a heap. One day a priest ordered a disciple to throw out the sweepings; he, as if not hearing, went about his business, and on being called to a second and a third time, still went on his way, as if not hearing. So the priest getting angry at his disobedience, dealt him a blow with the broomstik. This time, not daring to refuse, he set about his task crying; and while so doing, offered up this his first prayer: — In regard of the meritorious act of throwing out the sweepings, may I, in each successive place where I shall be reborn, until I shall attain Nirvāna, be glorious and powerful like the mid-day sun. When he had finished his work, he went to the riverside to bathe. On seeing the mighty billows of the Ganges in commotion, he offered up his second prayer: — In each successive place where I shall be reborn, until I shall attain Nirvāna, may I possess ever-ready and never-forsaking power of answering questions, (carrying every thing before me) like this mighty surge. Now the priest, after putting by the broom in the broom closet, as he likewise walked to the riverside to bathe, happened to overhear the disciple's prayer. It is on my

instigation, he reflected, that this person forms such a wish; what may not I expect to attain to? And so he prayed: — In each successive place where I shall be reborn, until I shall attain Nirvāṇa, may I possess imperishable readiness in answering questions, (carrying every thing before me) like this mighty surge of the Ganges; may I be able to make out and unravel any perplexing question asked by this young man. — These two persons passed one Budhantara, going through the course of transmigrations among gods and men, and then they too, like Tissatthera, son of Moggalī, were seen by our Bhagavat and had their future fate foretold by him: — Five hundred years after my death, these two shall reappear, and the Law and Discipline taught so subtilely by me, they shall explain, unravelling and disentangling the difficulties by asking questions and by making similes.

Of the two, the disciple became the king of the city of Sāgala in Jambudvīpa, called Milinda, learned, eloquent, wise, clever in all things, a faithful observer of the various acts of worship and ceremony enjoined by his own sacred hymns concerning things past, present, and to come, conversant with many sciences, as holy tradition and secular law, the Sankhya, Yoga, Nyāya, and Vaiśeṣika systems, arithmetic, music, medicine, the four Vedas, the Purāṇas, the Itihāsas, astronomy, magic, logic(?), charming with spells, the different sorts of fighting, prosody, muddā, in a word the whole nineteen sciences; a disputer difficult to approach, difficult to master, superior to the mass of sect founders. And in all Jambudvīpa there was none like king Milinda for strength of body, swiftness, valour, (any more than) wisdom. (Besides he was) immensely rich, and his armies numberless.

One day king Milinda, being desirous to see his numberless army, consisting of the four hosts, pass in review

before him, went out of the city, and there ordered the army to be counted. Being fond of talking with people and engaging with them in philosophical disputes, the king after looking at the sun said to his ministers, — The day is not yet far advanced, what is the use of returning to town at so early an hour? Is there not some learned ascetic or brahman, a teacher with many disciples, even though he profess the doctrine of the holy Buddha, who is able to converse with me and remove my doubts? — Then the five hundred Yonakas said to king Milinda, — There are the six masters: Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Niganṭha Nātaputta, Sañjaya Belaṭṭha-putta, Ajita Kesakambalin, Pakudha Kaccāyana; they are the teachers of many disciples, famous, renowned sect founders, highly approved of by the people; go, great king, ask them your questions and remove your doubts.

Then king Milinda, surrounded by the five hundred Yonakas, mounted the royal car, drawn by excellent horses, and went to where Pūraṇa Kassapa dwelled, engaged in friendly and familiar conversation with him, and then sat down apart. And sitting apart king Milinda said to Pūraṇa Kassapa, — Who, venerable Kassapa, governs the world? — The earth, great king, governs the world. — If, venerable K., the earth governs the world, then why do some men go to the Avīci hell, thus passing beyond the earth? — Thus addressed Pūraṇa Kassapa could neither swallow the question nor bring it up, but sat down crestfallen, silent, and groaning.

Then king Milinda said to Makkhali Gosāla, — Are there, venerable Gosāla, good and evil acts, have well and ill done acts their fruit, their maturity? — Good and evil acts, great king, are not, well and ill done acts have no fruit, no maturity; those who in this world are kshatriyas,

will after going to the next world again be *kshatriyas*, and so will *brahmans*, *vaiygas*, *gūdras*, *chāndālas*, *pukkasas* after going to the next world again be *brahmans*, etc.; what then is the use of good or evil acts? — If, venerable *Gosāla*, those who in this world are *kshatriyas*, *brahmans*, etc., after going to the next world will again be *kshatriyas*, etc., if good and evil acts are of no use, — then, venerable G., those who in this world had a hand cut off, will in the next world again have a hand cut off, those who had ears and nose cut off, will have ears and nose cut off. — Thus addressed *Makkhali Gosāla* remained silent.

Then king *Milinda* thought within himself, — *Jambudvipa* is certainly empty, *Jambudvipa* is certainly like chaff, there is no ascetic nor *brahman* who is able to converse with me and remove my doubts. And then he said to his counsellors, — The night is moonlight and beautiful; what ascetic or *brahman* can we seek to ask our questions, who is able to converse with me and remove my doubts? After these words the counsellors remained silent, and stood looking at the king's face.

At that time the city of *Sāgala* had for twelve years been void of learned ascetics and *brahmans*, and even laymen; but wherever the king heard that such persons dwelled, there he went and put his questions to them. But all, being unable to satisfy the king with the answers given to his questions, went on their respective ways, or, if they did not depart for some other place, at all events remained silent. The priests of *Buddha*, however, commonly went to the *Himālaya*.

At that time there lived a thousand millions of *Arhats* at *Rakkhitatala* in the *Himālaya*. The venerable *Assagutta*, having heard king *Milinda*'s words by means of his divine power of hearing, ordered the priesthood to as-

semble on the top of the Yugandhara mountain, and asked them whether any priest was able to converse with king Milinda and remove his doubts. All the priests remained silent; and being asked a second time, again remained silent. Then the venerable Assagutta thus addressed the priesthood, — There is in the world of the thirty-three gods, east of the Vejayanta palace, a palace called Ketumati, there lives the god Mahāsena, he is able to converse with king Milinda and remove his doubts. — Then the thousand millions of Arhats vanished from mount Yugandhara and appeared in the world of the thirty-three gods.

Çakra, the lord of gods, from a distance saw those priests approaching, whereupon he went to meet the venerable Assagutta, and after saluting him placed himself apart. And standing apart Çakra, the lord of gods, said to the venerable Assagutta, — A great assemblage of priests, I see, has arrived; I am the servant of the priests, what do you want, what shall I do for you? — Then the venerable A. said to Çakra, the lord of gods, — Here, great king, is the king called Milinda in the city of Sāgala in Jambudvīpa, a disputer difficult to approach, difficult to master, superior to all the heads of the various sects; he is in the habit of visiting the priests and annoying them by asking questions of speculative import. — Then Çakra, the lord of gods, said to the venerable Assagutta, — That king Milinda, holy one, left this place to be reborn among men; but in the palace of Ketumati lives the god Mahāsena, he is able to dispute with that king Milinda and to remove his doubts; that god we will beseech to suffer himself to be reborn in the world of men. — So Çakra, the lord of gods, preceded by the priesthood, entered the Ketumati palace, and said to the god Mahāsena, after embracing him, — The priesthood beseeches thee, lord, to be reborn in

the world of men. — I have no desire for the world of men so occupied with action, the world of men is passionate; even here, in the world of gods, being reborn ever in a higher and higher stage I shall attain final emancipation. — On Çakra continuing to beseech him a second and a third time, the god M. said again, — I have no desire, etc.

Then the venerable Assagutta said to the god M., — On passing in review the worlds of gods and men, we see none but thee, lord, who is able to succour our religion by refuting the heresy of king Milinda; the priesthood, lord, beseeches thee, saying, We pray thee, pious one, suffer thyself to be reborn in the human world, and in our behalf lend the religion of Dasabala thy aid. — Thus addressed the god M., overjoyed to hear that he should be able to succour religion by refuting the heretical doctrines of king Milinda, gave his promise. — Well, venerable ones, I shall be reborn in the world of men.

Having performed that task, the priests vanished from the world of the thirty-three gods, and again appeared at Rakkhitatala in the Himālaya. Then the venerable Assagutta said to the priesthood, — Is there in this congregation any priest who was not present at the assembly? — One of the priests replied, — The venerable Rohana, holy one, seven days ago entered the Himālaya to give himself up to mortifying meditation; please to send a messenger to him. — At that very moment the venerable Rohana arose from his meditation, and perceiving (by means of his superhuman faculties) that the priesthood were waiting for him, vanished from the Himālaya mountain and appeared at Rakkhitatala before the thousand millions of Arhats. Then the venerable Assagutta said to the venerable Rohana, — How now, venerable Rohana, the religion of Buddha is dissolving, and thou seest not what the priest-

hood have to do? — I was guilty of inadvertency. — Then, venerable R., atone for it. — What shall I do? — There is, venerable R., at the foot of the Himalaya range, a brahman village called Kajangala, there lives the brahman Sonuttara, he shall obtain a son, the infant Nāgasena; to that house thou shalt go for alms for seven years and ten months, and after the lapse of that time thou shalt deliver him from a worldly life and make him an ascetic, and when he is made an ascetic, the term of thy punishment shall be over. — The venerable Rohana signified his assent.

Now the god Mahāsena died from the world of gods, and was reborn in the womb of the brahman Sonuttara's wife, and at the precise moment of regeneration, three wonderful and miraculous phenomena occurred: arms and weapons blazed, the tender crop ripened at once, and there was a shower of rain (out of season). And from the day of his new birth forward, the venerable Rohana for seven years and ten months went to that house for alms, but never once he got so much as a spoonful of boiled rice, or a ladleful of sour gruel, or a greeting, or a holding out of the joined hands, or any sort of reverence; on the contrary, he received injuries and taunts. Nay, there was even no one who said so much as, Please to ask at the next house. But after the lapse of the seven years and ten months he one day happened to have these words addressed to him, Please to apply at the next house. On that very day the brahman, returning from his fields, saw the senior priest coming in an opposite direction, and said to him, — Have you been to our house, hermit? — Yes, brahman, we have. — Did you receive anything? — Yes, brahman, we did. — Displeased at this he went home, and asked whether they gave that hermit anything. We gave him nothing, said they. Next day the brahman sat

down at the door of his house, intending to reprove him for having told a lie. The senior priest arrived at the brahman's door, and the brahman no sooner saw him than he said thus: — You received nothing at our house yesterday, and yet you said you did; is lying worthy of you? — The senior priest said, — For seven years and ten months, brahman, we were never till yesterday told so much as, Please to apply at the next house; but from having been received with these kind words we said so. — The brahman thought, — After once receiving a kind word, these (priests) announce to all the world that they have received something; why should they not do as much after receiving eatables? — and highly pleased he ordered some spoon-food to be given him from the rice which had been prepared for himself, together with the necessary sauce, and said, — Such alms you will receive at all times. On seeing the subdued manners of the senior priest, who from the next day forward called regularly, he was still more pleased, and asked the priest always to make his repasts at his house. The priest assented in silence, and regularly day after day, after finishing his meal, and when about to depart, he pronounced a little of Buddha's words.

The brahman's wife after ten months brought forth a son, who received the name of Nāgasena, grew up, and in course of time attained the age of seven years. Then the father of young Nāgasena said to young Nāgasena, — Dost thou wish to learn the sciences traditional in this brahmanical house of ours? — Which are those, father? — The three Vedas are called sciences, the rest are called arts. — Well, then I will learn them. — Then the brahman Sonuttara engaged a brahman to be the boy's teacher for a remuneration of one thousand pieces, and after accommodating him with a bed in the same room with the boy in the interior of the house, said to the teacher, —

Do thou, brahman, teach this boy the sacred hymns. And to the boy he said, — Dear boy, now learn the sacred hymns. The teacher repeated them, and after one repetition of them young Nāgasena had learned by heart the whole of the three Vedas, could repeat them, had understood them well, so as not to confound one with the other, and had committed them faithfully to memory; all at once he received the intuitive knowledge (necessary for comprehending them), and was verbally and grammatically versed in the three Vedas together with the Nighantu, Keṭubha, and Akkharappabhedā, and the Itihāsas as a fifth part, and perfectly familiar with the Lokāyata system of philosophy, as well as the characteristics of men born to eminent greatness. Then young Nāgasena said to his father, — Is there anything more to be learned in this brahmanical family of ours, or only this much? — There is no more to be learned in this brahmanical family of ours, only this much. — Then young N., having applied himself zealously to his teacher's instruction, left the house, and by an impulse of his mind resulting from merit acquired in a previous life, sought solitude to give himself up to meditation, and as he reviewed the beginning, middle, and end of his acquirements, without seeing the least of substantiality either in the beginning or middle or end, he thought, — These Vedas are indeed empty and like chaff, devoid of essence and substantiality; — and felt regret and grief.

Now, at that time the venerable Rohaṇa, as he sat in his hermitage at Vattaniya, mentally perceiving the mental reflection of young N., put on his outer garment, took up his alms bowl and beggar's cloak, and vanishing from his hermitage at Vattaniya appeared outside the brahman village of Kajangala. Young N., who stood at the porch of his house, saw the venerable Rohana approaching from a distance, and as he did so, was overjoyed in the hope that

in this ascetic he might at length have found one who knew what was essential. So he went up to the venerable Rohana, and said to him, — Who art thou, lord, that thou art thus baldheaded, and wearest yellow robes? — I am an ascetic, boy. — Why, lord, hast thou become an ascetic? — An ascetic secedes to make the impurities of sin secede; therefore, boy, I have become an ascetic. — Why, lord, is not thy hair like that of others? — It was because I saw the sixteen impediments (to a holy life), that I cut off my hair and beard when I became an ascetic; which sixteen? The impediments of ornaments, of decking out, of using salves, of washing, of flower chaplets, of perfumes, of scents, of yellow myrobalan, of emblic myrobalan, of dyes, of ribbons, of combs, of barbers, of disentangling the clotted hair, of vermin; when the hair falls off, they feel grieved and are harassed, lament and cry, beating their chest, or even fall down in a swoon; — entangled by these sixteen impediments men will forget the most subtile sciences. — Why, lord, are also thy garments not like those of others? — (Worldly) clothes, boy, are inseparable from desire, belong to desire, are the marks of worldlings; whatever dangers arise from worldly clothes, he who puts on the yellow robe knows nothing of; therefore, neither are my garments like those of others. — Knowest thou, lord, the real science? — Yes, I know the real science, boy; and what is the best hymn in the world, that I know too. — Canst thou also give that to me? — I can, boy. — Then give it me. — This is no time, boy; we have entered the house for alms.

Then young Nāgasena, taking the alms bowl out of the venerable Rohana's hand, led him into the house, and after satisfying him with excellent hard and soft food, attending him with his own hands, when he saw that the venerable R. had done eating, and had drawn his hand

out of his alms bowl, he said to him, — Now, lord, give me that hymn. — When thou shalt be without the impediments (to a holy life), boy, and after obtaining thy parents' consent thou shalt put on that monk's dress which I have put on, then I shall give it thee. — Then young N. went up to his parents and said, — This ascetic says he knows the hymn which is the best in the world, but will not give it to any one who will not retire from the world with him; I wish to retire from the world in his company, and learn that hymn. His parents gave their consent, for they wished him to learn the hymn, even at the cost of his retiring from the world, and they thought that after learning it he would come back again. Then the venerable R. took young N. with him and first went to his hermitage of Vattaniya, from thence to the hermitage of Vijambhavatthu, and after passing the night there, went to Rakkhitatala, and in the middle of the congregation of the ten millions of Arhats caused young N. to be ordained. Whereupon the venerable N. said to the venerable R., — I have put on thy dress, now give me the hymn. Then the venerable R. thought thus to himself: — In which shall I first instruct Nāgasena, in the Suttanta or the Abhidhamma? — and seeing that Nāgasena was intelligent, and could easily learn the Abhidhamma, he first instructed him in the Abhidhamma. And the venerable N., after having it repeated but once, knew by heart the whole Abhidhamma, viz. the Dhammasaṅgaṇī, which is ornamented with triads and dyads, such as “good things, bad things, indifferent things”; the Vibhangapakarāṇī, which is ornamented with the eighteen explications, viz. the explications of the khandhas, etc.; the Dhātukathāpakarāṇī, distributed into fourteen parts, viz. comprehension, non-comprehension, etc.; the Puggalapaññatti, divided into six parts, viz. the declaration of khandhas, of āyatana, etc.; the

Kathāvatthupakarāna, which is set forth by enumerating 1000 suttas, 500 according to (Buddha's) own views, 500 turning on those of others; the Yamaka, divided into ten parts: the fundamental dyads, the khandha-dyads, etc.; the Paṭṭhānapakarāna, divided into twenty-four parts: the hetupaccaya, the ārammaṇa-paccaya, etc. And then he said to the venerable Rohaṇa, — Now stop, holy one, do not repeat it over again, this will suffice for me to recite it.

Then the venerable N. went to the ten millions of Arhats and said to them, — I wish to recite the entire Abhidhamma, without abridgment, so as to comprehend the whole of it in these three classes: good things, bad things, indifferent things. — Well, Nāgasena, recite it. — Then the venerable N. in seven months recited the seven books of Abhidhamma in full. The earth thundered, the gods signified their approval, the Brahmaś clapped their hands, there came a shower of celestial powder of sandal and erythrina flowers. And then the ten millions of Arhats at Rakkhitatala consecrated the venerable N. for a priest, he having then filled his twentieth year. And being ordained a priest, the venerable N., after the lapse of that night, the next forenoon put on his garments and took up his bowl and beggar's cloak; and as in company with his teacher he was entering the village for alms, he called up within himself the following reflection: — My teacher is truly empty-headed and foolish, that he should first instruct me in the Abhidhamma, leaving aside the rest of Buddha's word. But then the venerable R., mentally perceiving the mental reflection of the venerable N., said to him, — Thou makest an unworthy reflection, Nāgasena, this is not worthy of thee. Then the venerable N. thought to himself, — Wonderful indeed, miraculous, that my teacher should mentally know my mental reflection, he is truly wise; I must propitiate my teacher. And then he

said to the venerable R., — Pardon me, holy one, I shall not again make any such reflection.

Then the venerable R. said to the venerable N., — I do not pardon thee all at once; but there is a city called Sāgala, there reigns king Milinda, he annoys the priesthood by asking questions of heretical import; if thou wilt go there and canst master the king and make a convert of him, then I shall pardon thee. — Not only king Milinda, holy one, but if all the kings of whole Jambudvipa were to assemble and propose questions to me, I should by my answers crush all; only pardon me. — I shall not pardon thee (till then). — Then, holy one, with whom am I to dwell for these three months (of the rainy season)? — At the hermitage of Vattaniya, Nāgasena, lives the venerable Assagutta; do thou go to him, and in my name salute his feet with thy head, and say to him, — My teacher, holy one, salutes your feet with his head, and asks whether you are free from disease and illness, whether you are in vigour and force, and dwell agreeably; he sent me to live with you for these three months. When he shall ask, What is thy teacher's name? — thou shalt say, The thera Rohana, holy one. When he shall say, What is my name? — thou shalt say, My teacher, holy one, knows your name. — Certainly holy one, said the venerable N., saluted the venerable R., went round him so as to present his right side to him, and took up his bowl and beggar's cloak. And wandering from place to place, he finally arrived at the Vattaniya hermitage where the venerable Assagutta dwelled, went up to him, and after greeting him placed himself apart. Standing apart the venerable N. said to the venerable A., — My teacher, holy one, salutes your feet with his head, and speaks thus: — he asks whether you are free from disease and illness, whether you are in vigour and force, and dwell agreeably; my teacher, holy

one, sent me to live with you for these three months. — Then the venerable A. said to the venerable N., — What is thy name? — My name, holy one, is Nāgasena. — What is thy teacher's name? — My teacher's name, holy one, is the thera R. — What is my name? — My teacher, holy one, knows your name. — Will, Nāgasena, put by thy bowl and cloak. — Well, holy one. — So saying he but by his bowl and cloak. The following day, after sweeping the hermit's cell, he placed water for rinsing the mouth and tooth-cleaners ready for use. The thera swept over again the place he had swept, threw away the water and fetched some other water, removed the tooth-cleaners and took some others, and did not speak a word to him. Thus having done for seven days, on the seventh day he again asked him those questions, was again answered in the same manner, and only then he allowed him to pass the rainy season with him.

At that time a certain distinguished female lay votary had for as long as thirty years administered to the wants of the venerable Assagutta. That female, after the lapse of the three months, went up to the venerable A. and said to him, — Is there any other priest with you, father? — There is with us, great devotee, a priest called Nāgasena. — Then, father Assagutta, consent to take your meal tomorrow (at my house), together with Nāgasena. — The venerable A. assented in silence. Then the venerable A., after the lapse of that night, the next forenoon put on his garments, took up his bowl and cloak, and together with the venerable N. as his follower went to the great female devotee's dwelling, and sat down on the seat prepared for him. Then that great female devotee satisfied the venerable A. and the venerable N. with excellent hard and soft food, attending them with her own hands. And the venerable A., when he had done eating and had drawn

his hand out of his bowl, said to the venerable N., — Do thou, N., express our thanks to the great female devotee. — After so saying, he arose from his seat and departed. Then that great female devotee said to the venerable N., — I am old, father Nāgasena; thank me by means of a profound religious discourse. — Then the venerable N. expressed his thanks to that great female devotee by means of a profound discourse on Abhidhamma, passing things mundane, turning on void. And at that very sitting the great female devotee received "the eye of the law," free from dust and impurity, (viz. the knowledge that) whatever is in the predicament of having an origin, all that is also in the predicament of having a cessation. And the venerable N. himself, after thanking the great female devotee, by meditating on the discourse he had himself pronounced and thus acquiring the superior intelligence (vipassanā), at that very sitting gained the degree of a sotāpanna.

Then the venerable Assagutta, as sitting in the circular hall he perceived that both had acquired the eye of the law, signified his approval: — Excellent, excellent, Nāgasena! by one arrow-shot two great bodies have been pierced! And many thousands of gods likewise signified their approval.

Then the venerable N. arose from his seat and went to the venerable Assagutta, greeted him and sat down apart. As he sat apart, the venerable A. said to the venerable N., — Go thou, Nāgasera, in the Asokagarden, in the city of Pātaliputra, lives the venerable Dhammarakkhita; with him learn the word of Buddha. — How far, holy one, is the city of P. from this? — Three hundred yojanas, Nāgasena. — The distance is great, alms will be scarce as I go along; how shall I get there? — Go thou, Nāgasena, thou wilt find thy bowlful of alms as thou goest along, boiled rice from which the black grains have

been culled, with various sorts of broth and sauce. — Certainly, holy one, said the venerable N., greeted the venerable A., went round him presenting his right side to him, took up his bowl and cloak, and went on his beggar's way to Pāṭaliputta.

At that time a merchant of Pāṭaliputta was on his way back to Pāṭaliputta, with 500 waggons. Now the merchant saw the venerable N. coming from a distance, and as he saw him stopped his 500 waggons, saluted the venerable N., and asked him, — Whither art thou going, father? — To Pāṭaliputta, householder. — Well, father, we too are going to P.; go along with us, it will be more pleasant. — Then the Pāṭaliputta merchant, highly pleased with the venerable N.'s manners, satisfied him with excellent hard and soft food, waiting personally upon him, and when he saw the venerable N. had done eating and had drawn his hand out of his bowl, he took a low seat and sat down apart. And sitting apart the Pāṭaliputta merchant said to the venerable N., — What is thy name, father? — My name, householder, is N. — Dost thou, father, know Buddha's word? — I know, householder, the articles of the Abhidhamma. — We are indeed lucky, father, this is indeed an advantage, both I and thou are conversant with the Abhidhamma; do thou pronounce the articles of the Abhidhamma, father. — Then the venerable N. pronounced the Abhidhamma to the Pāṭaliputta merchant, and by degrees as he did so, the merchant received the eye of the law, (viz. the knowledge that) whatever is in the predicament of having an origin, all that is also in the predicament of having a cessation. Then the Pāṭaliputta merchant sent the 500 waggons in advance, and himself followed after. In a cross road not far from Pāṭaliputta he stopped and said to the venerable N., This father N., is the way to the garden of Asoka; here I have an excellent blanket,

sixteen cubits in length and eight in breadth, take pity on me and accept this excellent blanket. The venerable N. took pity on him and accepted the excellent blanket, and then the Pātaliputta merchant, pleased and glad, with joyful heart and full of content and happiness, saluted the venerable N., went round him so as to present his right side to him, and departed.

Then the venerable N. went to the venerable Dhammarakkhita in the garden of Asoka, and after saluting him and stating the cause of his arrival, from the mouth of the venerable Dh. he learned by heart the whole of the three baskets of Buddha's word in three months and after a single recital, so as to know them by heart according to the words, and in three months more he mastered the sense. Then the venerable Dh. said to the venerable N., — Even as the herdsman, Nāgasena, tends the cows, but another enjoys their produce, even so thou, though knowing by heart the three baskets of Buddha's word, art not a partaker of ḡramanaship. — Be it so, holy one, you have said enough, (said N.). In the course of that very day and night he attained Arhatship together with the patisambhidās, and at the moment of his penetrating the truths, all the gods shouted, Excellent, excellent; the earth thundered, the Brahma's clapped their hands, and there was a shower of celestial sandal powder and erythrina flowers.

At that time the ten millions of Arhats at Rakkhitatala in the Himālaya assembled and sent a messenger to the venerable N., — Let N. come, we wish to see N. On hearing the messenger's words the venerable N. vanished from the garden of Asoka, and appeared at Rakkhitatala in the Himālaya, before the ten millions of Arhats, who said to him, — That king Milinda annoys the priesthood by one heretical doctrine after the other, and by asking questions; well, N., go thou and master king Milinda. — Not only

king Milinda, holy ones, but if the kings of whole Jambudvīpa were to come and ask me questions, I should solve all those questions by my answers; do you, holy ones, go to the city of Sāgala without fear. — Then all the senior priests went to the city of Sāgala, lighting it with their yellow robes like lamps and making it respire the odour of saints.

At that time the venerable Āyupāla dwelled at the Sankheyyaparivena. Then king Milinda said to his counsellors, — It is a beautiful, moonlight night, what cāraṇa or brahman shall we go to now to have a conversation with him and to exchange questions and answers? who is able to converse with me and remove my doubts? Thus addressed the 500 Yonakas said to king Milinda, — Great king, there is the senior priest Āyupāla, well versed in the three Pitakas and all the traditional lore; he now dwells at the Sankheyyaparivena; go, great king, and ask the venerable Āyupāla your questions. — Well then, I say, announce my arrival to the bhadanta. Then the royal astrologer sent a messenger to the venerable Āyupāla: — King Milinda, holy one, wishes to see the venerable Āyupāla. — And the venerable A. said, — Well, let him come. — Then king Milinda ascended his royal car, and surrounded by his 500 Yonakas went up to the venerable A. at the Sankheyyaparivena, with whom he engaged in friendly and amicable conservation, and then sat down apart. And sitting apart king M. said to the venerable A., — What, holy one, is the object of your ascetic life, and what is your highest aim? — The senior priest said, The object, great king, of our ascetic life, is to live according to the law, according to the subjugation of the senses. — Is there, holy one, any householder who lives according to the law, according to the subjugation of the senses? — Yes, great king, there are such householders. When, in

the park of Isipatana near Bārāṇasī, our holy teacher turned the wheel of the law, 180 millions of brahmans were converted to the law, but the number of gods converted is beyond computation. All those were householders, not monks. And again, great king, when the Mahāsamaya-suttanta (DN. 20), the Mahāmangala-suttanta (Sn. 16), the Samacittapariyāya-suttanta (AN. II, iv, 5), the Rāhulovāda-suttanta<sup>1</sup>, the Parābhava-suttanta (Sn. 6) were delivered by our divine teacher, incalculable numbers of gods were converted, all of them laymen, not ascetics. — Then, holy A., your ascetic life is useless. It must be in consequence of sin committed in former existences that the ḡramanas of the Sakyaputta's creed turn ascetics and observe the dhu-tangas. Those priests, holy A., who limit themselves to eating once a day, were in former existences, I suppose, thieves who stole food from others, and from having deprived others of food, in consequence of that act have now food only once a day, and are not allowed to eat repeatedly; it is on their part no virtue, no meritorious penance, no holiness of life. And, holy A., those priests who always live in the open air, in former existences, I suppose, were robbers who plundered whole villages, and for having destroyed the houses of others, in consequence of that act must now pass their lives in the open air, and are not allowed the use of huts; it is on their part no virtue, no meritorious penance, no holiness of life. And, holy A., those priests who always keep a sitting posture, in former existences, I suppose, were highwaymen who seized travellers, bound them, and left them sitting there, and in consequence of that act must now keep a sitting

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<sup>1</sup> There are several suttas of this name; the one intended is that commonly called Cūla-Rāhulovādasuttam, MN. 147 = SN. XXXIV, 120.

posture and are not allowed to provide a couch; it is no virtue on their part, no meritorious penance, no holiness of life.

After these words the venerable A. remained silent and said not a word. Then the 500 Yonakas said to king M., — This senior priest is wise, it is from diffidence that he does not reply. — Then king M., on seeing the venerable A. silent, clapped his hands, shouted, and said to the Yonakas, — Jambudvīpa is indeed empty, Jambudvīpa is indeed like chaff, there is no gramana nor brahman who is able to dispute with me and remove my doubts. Then king M., when on passing in review the whole assembly he saw the Yonakas fearless and undaunted, said, — Undoubtedly there is some other wise priest, I dare say, who is able to dispute with me, since these Yonakas are so very confident. — Then king M. said to the Yonakas, — Is there, I say, any other wise priest who is able to dispute with me and remove my doubts?

At that time the venerable Nāgasena, after wandering his beggar's way through villages, towns, and royal capitals, had in course of time arrived in the city of Sāgala, surrounded by a multitude of gramanas, the master of numerous disciples, famous and renowned and highly esteemed by the whole people, learned, clever, wise, sagacious, a skilful expounder, of subdued manners, but full of courage, well versed in tradition, master of the three Pitakas, erudite in Veda lore, but at the same time in possession of the highest (Buddhist) intelligence, conversant with traditional lore, at the same time skilful in explaining the most abstruse meaning, knowing by heart the ninefold doctrine of Buddha better than any one else, equally skilled in the terms and the sense of Buddha's speeches, in propounding and in penetrating them, possessed of various and never failing power of reply, of ever varying

discourse, of the finest eloquence, difficult to equal and (more) difficult to excel, difficult to answer, to refute, to defeat, imperturbable like the sea, immovable like the king of mountains, an overcomer of sin, a dispeller of darkness and diffuser of light, a powerful orator, a confounder of the audience of other teachers, a crusher of the adherents of other doctrines, honoured and revered by priests and priestesses, male and female lay votaries, kings and ministers, abundantly supplied with the requisites (of Buddhist priests), viz., beggar's cloak and bowl of alms and hut and what is needful in sickness, receiving the highest honour no less than emoluments; to the wise and sapient who were willing to listen, he showed the ninefold jewel of Buddha's doctrine, taught them the way of the law, lighted them with the lamp of the law, put up for them the sacrificial post of the law, for their benefit offered up the sacrifice of the law, held on high the banner of the law, raised the flag of the law, wended the conch of the law, beat the drum of the law, sounded the lion's roar, sent forth the thunder of Indra, and by the thunder of his sweet voice and the copious shower of the nectar of the law, wrapped as it were in a net of flashes from his superior intelligence, and teeming with the water of mercy, he fully satisfied all the world. There, then, at the Sankheyya-parivena, did the venerable Nāgasena dwell, together with 80000 priests. Therefore it is said,

(He was) learned in tradition, wise and clever, a skilful judge of the various philosophical systems, and quick at finding a reply.

And those priests, familiar with the three Piṭakas, or with the five Nikāyas, or with four of them, regarded Nāgasena as their leader.

Nāgasena, the profoundly sapient sage, skilful in

distinguishing which was the way and which was not, the wise one, who had attained the highest aim,

After wandering through villages and towns, arrived in Sāgala, accompanied by those able priests, confessors of the truth.

Then Nāgasena lived at the Sankheyya-parivena, appearing among men like a lion in the mountains.

Then Devamantiya said to king Milinda, — Wait a little, great king, there is a senior priest called Nāgasena, learned, wise and sapient, of subdued manners, yet full of courage, familiar with traditional lore, of ever varying discourse, of happy power of replying, an adept in the four supernatural attainments, viz., knowledge of the words and the sense of the law, a faculty of explaining it and of refuting objections; he at present dwells at the Sankheyya-parivena, go thou, great king, and propound thy questions to the venerable N., he is able to converse with thee and to remove thy doubts. — No sooner did king M. hear the name of N., than he was seized with dread and stupor and horripilation. Then he said to Devamantiya, — Is the priest N. indeed able to converse with me? — He is able, great king, to converse even with the guardians of the world, Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kuvera, Prajāpati, Suyāma, Santushita, even with the progenitor of mankind, the great Brahma, how much more with a human being? — Then king M. said to D., — Well then, do thou, Devamantiya, send a messenger to the holy one. — Certainly, lord, said D., and sent this message to the venerable N., — King M., holy one, wishes to see the venerable (N.). — The venerable N. said, — Well then, let him come. — Then king M., surrounded by the 500 Yonakas, ascended the royal car, and together with a large body of warriors went to the venerable N. at the Sankheyya-parivena.

At that time the venerable N., with the 80000 priests,

was sitting in the circular hall. So king M. saw the assembly of the venerable N. from a distance, and as he saw it, said to D., — Whose is this large assembly, D.? — It is the assembly of the venerable N., great king. Then king M., from seeing the venerable N.'s assembly even at a distance, was seized with dread and stupor and horripilation. But, though afraid and terrified, confused and besides himself with fear and dread, — like an elephant surrounded by rhinoceroses, like a serpent surrounded by garudas, a jackal by boa-constrictors, a bear by buffaloes, like a frog pursued by a snake, a deer by a panther, like a snake attacked by a snake-catcher, a rat by a cat, a demon by a conjurer, like the moon caught in the mouth of Rāhu, like a snake in a basket, like a bird in a cage, like a fish in a net, like a man who has entered a forest infested by wild beasts, like a Yaksha who has sinned against Vaiçravana, like a god whose term of life is at an end, — king M. took heart on consideration that he must not allow those people to humiliate him, and said to D., — Do not thou, D., point out to me the venerable N., I shall know him without having him pointed out. — Certainly, great king, know him yourself. — Now at that time the venerable N. was younger than the 40000 priests who sat before him in that assembly of priests, and older than the 40000 priests who sat behind him. Then king M., on reviewing the whole of that priesthood, both in front and behind and in the middle, from a distance saw the venerable N. sitting in the middle of the priesthood, like a shaggy lion free from fear and terror and diffidence, and as soon as he saw him, knew by his mien that this was N. Then king M. said to D., — This then, D., is the venerable N. — Yes, great king, this is N.; well didst thou know him. — Whereupon the king rejoiced that he had known N. without having

him pointed out. And again, on seeing the venerable N., king M. was seized with dread and stupor and horripilation. Therefore it is said,

The king on seeing Nāgasena, distinguished by such holiness, with demeanour evincing the highest self-chastening, spoke these word to him:

Many interlocutors I have met with, many conversations I have engaged in, but never did I feel such fear, never did my whole frame shake, as it does to-day.

Troubled as my mind is, defeat will doubtlessly be mine to-day, and victory Nāgasena's.

End of Introduction.

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## NOTES.

P. 5<sup>1</sup>. The name of Milinda has been happily identified with the Greek Menandros. In Pali the liquids *n* and *l* are easily interchanged, more especially either by assimilation or dissimilation; as, *mulāla* S. *mrñala*, *nangala* S. *lāngala*, *nangula* S. *lāngula*, *nalāta* S. *lalāta*, *velū* S. *venū* (proceeding from the oblique cases), *pilandhati* 'to ornament,' from *pilandha*<sup>1</sup> S. *pinaddha* (comp. *onandhati*, *pariyonandhati*), *vijjotalanta*, pres. part. of a denominative from S. *vidyotana*. The latter part of the name is made to contain the Pali word *inda*; or else assimilation of vowels may have taken place, as in *nilicchita*, S. *nirashta* from AKSH (the Burmese write *nilacchita*), *nisinna* S. *nishanñā*, *pitthi* S. *prshtha*,<sup>2</sup> etc.

P. 5<sup>11</sup>. *Tamyathā 'nusūyate* is a phrase well known from Sanskrit, especially Buddhist Sanskrit, comp. Five Jāt. p. 59; in Pali I have only found it in this place.

P. 5<sup>14</sup>. *Rāmaneyyaka*, S. *rāmaniyaka*, seems always to be used as a substantive; comp., *Abhijānāsi no* (i. e. *nu*) *tvaṁ rājañña divāseyyaṁ upagato supinakanā passitā*, *ārāmarāmaneyyakaṁ vanarāmaneyyakaṁ bhūmirāmaneyyakaṁ pokkharaṇīrāmaneyyakaṁ* (DN. 24); *iccheyyāsi no tvaṁ*

<sup>1</sup> Pilandha is used in Mil. and in comments; I have not found it in any Pitaka text. But pilandhita seems to be unused.

<sup>2</sup> An interesting case showing the transition from the neuter *pittham* to the fem. *pitthi*, occurs in each of the four Nikāyas: *Pitthim - me* (so MN. and SN.; *pitthi me* DN. and AN.) *agilāyati* (*agilāyati* SN.), *tam - aham* *āyamissāmi*, 'my back pains me a little, I wish to stretch it.' Comp. Jāt. I, p. 491 (at l. 8 read, *paṭibhātu tam bhikkhūnam dhammī kathā*). The assimilation has taken place, but the nasal is retained, and the word probably still remains neuter. The case is different from *nidhin - nikhito* (S. -*ir ni-*) Jāt. 807 v. 4.

mārisa Moggallāna Vejayantassa pāsādassa rāmaṇeyyakaṁ datṭhum (MN. 37). At Dh. v. 98 bhūmiṁrāmaṇeyyakaṁ is a compound with m̄ inserted for metrical reasons;<sup>3</sup> the parallel verse SN. XI, 15 has the same reading.

P. 5<sup>18</sup>. Caccara is S. catvara; v and r after a dental being sometimes changed into y, and thus together with the dental mostly forming a palatal, as gjijha S. gr̄dhra, ekacca<sup>4</sup> S. ekatara (after contraction into \*ekatra).

P. 6<sup>1</sup>. Dānagga is no doubt a contraction of dānā-gāra, by elision of the penultimate vowel; for in the sense of house -agga is used in several compounds, as bhattagga (Dh. p. 104; Mhw. p. 88), salākagga, vassagga (a shed, Jāt. I p. 123), uposathagga (also uposathāgāra). The like contraction occurs in ekacca, referred to in the preceding note. Also in pitucchā, mātucchā, S. pitrshvasar, mātrshvasar: sasār, which is otherwise unused in Pali, being contracted to -ssar, will according to a well known Sanskrit rule form -tsar, which in Pali makes -cchar, and for final -ar, as in some other cases, -ā is substituted. Jñū in composition for jānu, offers a Sanskrit analogy.

P. 6<sup>7</sup>. Kodumbaraka, the reading of M, is also that of the Vessantara-Jātaka, where the commentary explains it 'Kodumbararatthe uppānnāni.'

P. 6<sup>14</sup>. Leyya is S. lehya; sāyaniya from sāyati 'to taste,' S. svādate. A single consonant between vowels is

<sup>3</sup> Exactly as at v. 153 sandhāvissam with a double for a single s, to prevent the verse from ending in three iambi. This reading is however scarcely original, but so old that it came to be considered the correct form, and -isam is used only at the end of a hemistich. The examples are very numerous, and when Kuhn, Beitr. z. Pali-Gr. p. 111, characterized the form as "äusserst selten," he forgot that his knowledge of Pitaka texts was very limited.

<sup>4</sup> At first view ekacca (also ekatiya, Th. v. 1012, if the reading is right) has the appearance of containing the suffix tya, and like Kuhn and Senart I formerly thought that such was the case. But that obsolete termination was no longer available for the formation of new words, and it never produced derivatives declined like ekacca, pl. ekacce. Compare also mahacca = mahatara, in mahaccajānubhāvena, DN.2; MN.84.89; AN. V, v. 10; and matyā or mātyā, petyā, S. mātrā, pitrā, Jāt. 527 vv. 3.5; 538 v. 29. At Khuddakap. 9 v. 1 = Sn. 8 v. 1, I consider abhisamecca the instrumental of -tar in the sense of a future, with irregular shortening of the final, perhaps an old clerical error.

rather frequently elided, and to avoid the hiatus, which unlike the practice in Prakrit is never allowed to remain, either a semivowel is inserted or contraction takes place. Sāyati more immediately proceeds from the part. sāyita, like tāy-idām, khāyita from khādati, in which verb however the elision is confined to the participle. Sāyati is so frequently accompanied by ghāyati 'to smell,' that the rhyme may have contributed to the change.

P. 7<sup>21</sup>. Moggaliputta-Tissathero was the principal actor in the third sangīti<sup>5</sup> or redaction of the Buddhist canon, 218 years after Buddha. His history, as related in Mhw., has many points of coincidence with our text.

P. 7<sup>21</sup>. Dissati. Of the three Sanskrit preterites, the perfect has left but very few vestiges, and the imperfect and aorist are commonly blended into one form partaking of the character of both. Thus the old system has been entirely overthrown, and has had to be replaced by a new one. The aorist is expressed by the new Pali aorist formed from the Sanskrit imperfect, the terminations being on the whole borrowed from the Sanskrit aorist; the perfect by means of the past participle, so that the construction of the sentence commonly becomes passive (as, evam me sutam, thus I have heard). The imperfect takes the form of the present tense; and on this analogy the future may be used in the sense of an imperfect of the future. Hoti (= was), accompanied by a past participle, forms a pluperfect. The scheme is however partly infringed, in so far as the p. p., especially in an active sense, is often used instead of an aorist; and so is, in the text above, the present, of which licence there are, I believe, few other examples. — This system of preterite tenses differs not much from that used in more recent Sanskrit; the use of the present for the imperfect in epic Sanskrit has been noticed by Rückert in *Zeitschr. d. d. morg. Gesellsch.* 1859 p. 110, but according to his statement is more limited than in Pali.

P. 7<sup>25</sup>. Niggumba from gumba, S. gulma, by meta-

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<sup>5</sup> Burnouf, and Childers on his authority, render sangīti by 'synod,' but I have met with the word in no context where the meaning 'redaction' is not either necessary or admissible. Nor does the verb sangāyati ever mean 'to convoke,' but invariably 'to make a collection or redaction of texts.'

thesis; gumbla being the intermediate stage. Comp. simbali, S. cămali.

P. 8<sup>1</sup>. The nineteen sciences are intended to represent the Yonaka cyclopædia, the difference of which from the Indian must have been well known to the author. Hence the number was fixed at nineteen, to mark them out as distinct from the 'eighteen' Indian sciences. But this was all he knew about the matter, and so his specification of them turned out a mere farrago of Indian words, the exact meaning of which no one would probably have been more puzzled to explain than himself. He first thought of çruti and smṛti, of sāṅkhyā, yoga, nyāya, vaiçeshika. For smṛti and nyāya were substituted sammuti (S. sam-mati, perhaps in the sense of 'what is universally agreed on') and nīti; the regular equivalents, sati and nīya, being objectionable, because these are among the technical terms of Buddhism (nīya = ariyo atthangiko maggo), and might have rendered Milinda suspect of Buddhist attainments previous to his conversion. The rest of the names are chosen rather at random, and mostly disguised as feminines ending in -ā, in order to look less like Indian.

P. 8<sup>17</sup>. Pūrāṇo is the correct name, though written in all our copies, and often elsewhere, Purāṇo. He was born, according to Buddhaghosa, after 99 other slaves, thus 'filling up' the number of a hundred. In the following names, the forms Nāta- and Nāthaputto, Belatṭha- and Belatṭhiputto are written indifferently wherever they occur. The latter however is said by Buddhaghosa to mean Belatṭhassa putto. But on the whole metronymics alternate with corresponding patronymics so frequently, that it is often difficult to fix the right reading.

P. 8<sup>19</sup>. The forms Pakudho and Kakudho are used with nearly equal frequency. The transition from Kakudha, supposing this to be the original form, to Pakudha, belongs to a 'class' of phonetical changes which offers one of the greatest difficulties in identifying Pali words with Sanskrit. The mutes sometimes merge from one organic class into another, but I refer more especially to the change of a non-labial into a labial, or of a guttural into a dental, or vice versa.<sup>6</sup> Sometimes the cause

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<sup>6</sup> Khānu, which Vararuci, I suppose rightly, refers to S. sthānu, belongs to the class of etymologizing corruptions, alluding

is evidently dissimilation, as in *kipillika*, -*laka*, S. *pipilikā* (in Spiegel's *Kammav.* incorrectly written *kiminnaka*); — *gaddūhana*, S. *dadrūghna*;<sup>7</sup> — *takkola*, *Abhidh.* v. 304, corresponds to *kakkola* in the parallel verse of *Amarakosha*; in *Mil.* (p. 359) also name of a country, perhaps S. *Karkota*; — *jalūpikā* or *jalopikā* for *jalokikā* (*Mil.* p. 407). The latter instance may and some others must be referred to labialism, induced by an accompanying *u* or *o*: *khajjopanaka*, S. *khadyota* (*Dh.* p. 338);<sup>8</sup> — *nirumbhati*, *sannirumbhati* (to hush, to silence; also to be hushed, to stand immoveable), probably from *RUDH*;<sup>9</sup> — *sampuṭita*

to *khanati*. Comp. *su-nakha*, *su-pāna* (the Burmese write *suvāna*), both from *çvan*; *atraja* q. d. 'born in this house'; *rathesabha* (*janesabha*, *janesuta*) perhaps = *ratheçubh*; *purindada* = *purandara*; *balasata* and *palasāda* for *palasata* (commonly written *phal-*, like most words beginning with *pal-*), 'a rhinoceros,' properly an adjective, possibly from S. *parasvanta*, which in the Pet. Dict. is rendered conjecturally and perhaps wrongly 'a wild ass.' In *luddaka* for *luddhaka* 'a hunter,' a confusion of *luddha* = *lubdha* and *ludda* = *rudra* has taken place. *Khānu* goes far to prove *khanati* to be the right reading; in *Dhātumañjusā*, to be sure, it is written with the dental, but its authority is in this case scarcely conclusive, as some grammatical *sutta* or other will easily account for the lingual, with which it is written invariably in all good Singh. MSS. and partly also by the Birmans.

<sup>7</sup> It is used to denote a very small measure or space of time: *Yo antamaso gaddūhanamattam-pi mettam cittam bhāveyya* SN. XIX, 4; AN. IX, ii, 9. *Nābhijānāmi ābādhām uppannapubbaṁ antamaso gaddūhanamattam-pi* MN. 124. *Na kīci apuññam āpajeyya antamaso gaddūhanamattam-pi* Mil. p. 110. The traditional explanation is very different and most absurd: *Gaddūhanamattam-pīti gāvīm thane gahetvā ekakhīrabinḍudūhanakālamattam-pi* (Ps.). *Gandhūhanamattam-pīti gandhavahanamattam*, *dvīh' angulīhi gandhapindam gahetvā upasinchhanamattam*; *apare gaddūhanamattan-ti pālin vatva: gāvīyā ekavāram thanam añjanamattan-ti attham vadanti* (Mp.). In the latter passage, for *añjana-* I read *āvījana-*, from *āvījati* 'to pull' — it is used in all the *Nikāyas*, and also in later writings — perhaps from PINJ, for which root that meaning seems admissible on account of S. *piñjana*.

<sup>8</sup> Also *khajjūpanaka*, *khajjūpa*, *khajjūpaka*, more rarely *khajjota*, -*aka*.

<sup>9</sup> Fausböll and Childers consider -*rumbati* equally admissible. In Singhalese MSS. *nh* and *mbh* are difficult to distinguish, but as an aspirate after a consonant in no other case passes into *h*, and as the *Dhātumañjusā* reads *rumbh*, there can be no doubt that -*rumbhati* is the only correct reading; and so it is spelled, I believe, by the Birmans, who are not in the habit of confounding *h* and *bh*.

'shrunk, shrivelled' (seyyathā pi tittakālābu āmakacchinno vātātapena samputito hoti sammilāto MN. 12. 36. 85. 100), no doubt from KUT or KUC, since sankuṭita and sankucita also occur; kalopi (kalopi, also kha-) is possibly identical with karoṭi.<sup>10</sup> The influence of a following labial consonant<sup>11</sup> is evident in bā- for dvā- (bārasa, bāvisati, bat-timsa), ubbhaṁ in certain cases for uddhaṁ (ubbhatthako hoti āsanapatikkhitto 'always standing erect, rejecting a seat' DN. 8. 25; MN. 12. 14. 40, etc.; ubbhamukha 'with one's mouth upwards' SN. XXVII, 10; ubbhaṁ yojanam-ug-gata Jāt. 530 v. 53; ubbham-uppatita-lomo DN. 30); Prakrit appa, Hindostanee āp, from ātman, is a well known instance. The opposite transition from the labial into some other class, is unfrequent; the principal example is the root SARF, which by dissimilation — for most of the prepositions contain a p — forms -sakkati; as, apasakkati 'to go away'; osakkati (S. apasarpati), paccosakkati 'to retreat' (only once I have found osappati); ussakkati, ab-bhussakkati (or with assimilated vowels -ssukkati) 'to ascend' (ādicco nabhaṁ abbhussakkamāno DN. MN. SN. AN., mostly written -sukk-); nissakkati 'to go out' (whence nissakkavacanām, Buddhaghosa's appellation for the ablative<sup>12</sup>); parisakkati 'to plan for' (parisappanti Dh. v. 342. 343 in a different sense); pasakkiya = prasṛpya.<sup>13</sup>

P. 9<sup>21</sup>. As it seems, the author's original plan was to invent knotty questions and answers to correspond for each of the six teachers. But very likely he found the

<sup>10</sup> Ālupa for āluka Jāt. 446 v. 1. It is possible on this analogy to identify sippi with cūkti, the labializing u (\*suppi) having afterwards been assimilated by the following vowel.

<sup>11</sup> Similarly mm for nv in Dhammantari (in Mil. name of a physician), dalhadhammo (dhanuggaho) 'having a strong bow,' from dhanān. So Buddhaghosa, no doubt correctly.

<sup>12</sup> The names by which cases are denoted by Buddhaghosa and other scholiasts, are partly peculiar and never used either in Sanskrit or by Pali grammarians — what Childers at kārakām says to the contrary I believe to be an error — except in so far as Vanaratana, the author of Payogasiddhi, winds up his Kārakakando with the following memorial stanza, which Alwis, Cat. I, p. 68, quotes from Suttanidessa: Paccattam-upayogañ-ca karanaṁ sampadāniyām | nissakka-sāmivacanām bhummam-ālapan' atthamām.

<sup>13</sup> Also anuparisakkati, paṭisakkati, anusakkati; but after ā, vi, sām, p is retained. Upasappati is used by Vanaratana in a grammatical example.

task too difficult, and abandoned his design. So there is scarcely any reason to suppose a lacuna in our text.

P. 10<sup>3</sup>. Acchati is in comments explained by nisidati or vasati; by grammarians it is rightly referred to ĀS, from which it proceeds through the aorist acchi, S. \*ātsit.<sup>14</sup> Hence the Bengalee verb substantive āch<sup>o</sup>.

Pag. 10<sup>16</sup>. Devaputta may be considered the sing. of deva, which in the sense of 'god' is rarely used in the singular.

P. 10<sup>19</sup>. The particle pātu, in pātubhavati, pātukaroti, from S. prādūr, is an instance of a sonant being exchanged for a surd. By Prakrit grammarians this sort of change is said to be peculiar to a particular dialect; an invention, perhaps, purporting to account for this irregular euphonism. In Pali the true reason is in most cases

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<sup>14</sup> Dicchati 'to give' derives from adikshat; Vanaratanā rightly refers it to 'disa atisajjane.' It occurs at SN. I, 32 v. 5 = 33 v. 2 = Jāt. 450 v. 7: Appasm' eke pavecchanti, bahunā eke na dicchare (= dadanti Jāt. Com.). In the same Jāt. v. 1: Apacanto (not cooking) pi dicchanti santo laddhāna bhojanām, the scholiast paraphrases it by dātum icchanti, but it is unnecessary to suppose it to be the desiderative of DĀ, and it can scarcely be different from the word employed at v. 7. The verb dicchati, from 'disa pekkhane,' mentioned by grammarians, might derive from adikshata, but it is possibly a mistake owing its origin to a confusion with the former word. Pavecchati 'to give' is traditionally explained by paveseti (as if caus.) or deti, and looks like a derivative from avikshat, but neither VIQ nor VISH make good sense; in meaning it agrees with S. prayacchati, but the identification presents some phonetical difficulty. Pāhetha, above p. 12<sup>2</sup>, from pāhesi, is not found elsewhere. Uggāñchitvāna Mil. p. 376 (in a verse quoted from an unknown source) from uggāñchi. Rudati from arudat, as °ruhati (in verse) from aruhat. From DĀRC a base dakkh<sup>o</sup> seems to be in use, which may have sprung from ad-dakkhi, but more likely from the forms I shall mention directly. Some of the examples are deceptive: dakkhissati is a future with double termination (comp. sakkhissati, modathavho, etc.), dakkhetha, dakkhema, -emu are optatives of the future, dakkhitāye SN. I, 37 v. 1 = DN. 20 v. 1 (Grimblot, Sept. Suttas p. 280) is perhaps an infinitive of the future (other examples of the infinitive termination -tāye exist), likewise dakkhitum Vin. I p. 179<sup>11</sup> (also used occasionally in comments, as well as dakkhitabba). More unmistakeable are atīradakkhīnī nāvā DN. 11; AN. VI, v. 12 (but in the same suttas tiradassi sakuno, synonymous with disākāko, which was rightly explained by Minayeff, Mél. As. VI p. 597), and dakkhāpita Mil. p. 119<sup>3</sup>. Comp. Childers in Kuhn's Beitr. VII p. 450—3.

assimilation,<sup>15</sup> the transformed sonant having been influenced by one or two neighbouring surds; or by l, which in contradistinction to l = d is in this respect on a par with surds. Some of the principal instances are the following.<sup>16</sup> Akilāsu from a-glāsnu; — pāceti Dh. v. 135, not from PAC but AJ, like pācana S. prājana; — pithiyati<sup>17</sup> from DHA,

<sup>15</sup> The term 'assimilation' may perhaps be excepted against, because it is commonly used in a somewhat different sense. But the process by which e. g. dharma, agni became dhamma, aggi, is in my opinion elision, not assimilation; we ought to remember that the pronunciation was dharma, aggni.

<sup>16</sup> I shall add some more: chakala S. chagala; akalu for agalu; paloka from palujjati (RUJ); <sup>o</sup>upaka for <sup>o</sup>upaga in kulupaka, etc.; Upaku, in Payogasiddhi, for Upagu Kacc. 348 (Senart p. 187); Payaka for -ga Jat. 543 v. 111; vilāka for vilagga ib. 527 v. 10; thaketi from STHAG; lakanaka 'an anchor' (Mil. p. 377) from laketi = lageti; palikha rarely for paligha, Jat. 545 v. 64; Ceti, S. Cedi; rarely ketāra for kedāra, Jat. 381 v. 2, patara for padara, ib. 444 v. 3; upa-theyya (DHA) 'a cushion,' ib. 547 vv. 34, 237; läpa, S. läba; läpu, aläpu for -bu; pajāpati 'wife' from prajāvati (perhaps also nelapatī, puttapatī for -vatī); pettāpiya AN. VI, v. 2; X, viii, 5, from pitvya; tippe for tibba in a certain formula of frequent use especially in MN. Chakana is S. chagana, but as it derives from çakrī, çakan, like yakana from yakrt, yakan, the Pali form is the older of the two. Upacikā is connected, through \*upatikā, with S. upadikā, upādika, utpādikā, but as it offers an easy and natural etymology from upa- CI, it is probably the original of those corrupt forms.

<sup>17</sup> Pithiyati was known to Childers only from Dh. v. 173, but it is of frequent use. Weber's obvious explanation did not meet with the reception to which it was entitled, for Childers and Kuhn repeated the old error; so difficult it is for truth to prevail. The fact is that pithiyati may be suspected of being a Singhalese blunder for pidhiyati, for so the Burmese write invariably. Since I wrote the above remarks, an increased knowledge of Birman MSS. has proved to me that a certain proportion of the words in question are there written with the sonant we are justified in expecting. This statement applies to bhinkāra, (perhaps chakala,) Upaku, mutinga, pithiyati, pāpurana, supāna, and probably several others the Birman form of which is still unknown to me. The Singhalese form of these words is likely to be posterior to the introduction of Buddhism and Pali literature into Trans-gangetic India. It continues an open question whether the rest are genuine, or were likewise corrupted in Ceylon, in the idiom of which assimilation, I think, forms a leading feature. On the other hand it need not be said that the Burmese abound in errors of their own of this as well as other kinds; e. g. huveyya Vin. I p. 8 for huveyya, which is the reading of genuine Singh. MSS. (the Upaka legend is found twice in MN.). Comp. Alwis, Introd. to Kachch. p. 48.

for which explanation we are indebted to Weber, *Zeitschr. d. d. morg. Ges.* 1860 p. 56; — chāpa from qāva; — palāpa 'chaff' (more commonly in an adjective sense, 'chaff-like, void') from palāva; — from LŪ lāpayati, *Mhw.* p. 61<sup>7</sup>, if the reading is correct; — from PLU opilāpeti 'to make to sink,' etc.; — from VAR apāpurati or avāpurati 'to open,' for \*apāvarati<sup>18</sup> with labialized vowel, apāpurāna or avāpurāna 'a key,' and the well known pāpurāna (sometimes pārupana, which is properly the noun of action) S. prāvarāna, for which the Burmese write pāvurāna; the corresponding verb being, by metathesis originating perhaps in the p. p. pārūta S. prāvṛta, pārūpati<sup>19</sup> (which the Burmese

<sup>18</sup> Childers, though otherwise adopting my explanation, considered avāpurati to contain ava, not apa; but he was mistaken. For, first, ava does not account for the change of the radical v to p. Next, apa is scarcely ever substituted for ava; but apāpurati and apāpurāna are in use, and the p. p. pārūta, S. prāvṛta, which Childers wrongly dissolved into a-pārūta, is constantly written with p. Finally, ava - VAR would mean 'to cover over,' and could only by a Prakritism signify 'to open,' comp. ava - CHAD. Weber rightly saw this, *Zeitchr. d. d. morg. Ges.* 1876 p. 179.

<sup>19</sup> Pāpurati instead of pārūpati is mentioned by Childers, but I am afraid it is a mere lapse of memory; in Sn. at least no form of that verb occurs except pārūta, and I have met with it nowhere. Weber, l. c., was inclined to doubt the proposed etymology, and raised a twofold objection; first because VAR appears in its due form in pavāra. pāvāra, next on account of the conjugation of the verb. I must here remark, in the first place, that nothing is more common than for a root or Sanskrit word to appear in a variety of Pali shapes; e. g. kuśita and kosajja; pidahati, pithiyati, and pidhāna; ludra. rudda, ludda (Fausböll and Childers failed in explaining this word), and rūla (Mil. p. 275); tikicchā, vicikicchā; byāpāra, byāvata (whence veyyāvaca; from PAR, as Böhtlingk suspected); pārūta, vivāta, saṁvuta; apāpurati, ovaraka (S. apavaraka; at Jāt. I p. 391 read jātovarake); niyyāteti, -deti; pājeti, pāceti (AJ); gilāna, akilāsu (GLA); adhā, ālhīya (S. ādhyā); and a great many more. Secondly, the regular Pali conjugation of VAR is varati, see āvarati, vivarati, saṁvarati. Forms corresponding to S. vñoti, vñāti are rare (vñimhase Jāt. II p. 137; apāpūnanti amatassa dvāram It. 84 v. 2, vñomi Jāt. 513 v. 14, if I conjecture rightly, the MSS. have apāmunanti and, against metre, vannomi) and partly questionable. Saṁvunoti is known only from grammarians, and so is āvunoti, -sti, if it means 'to cover.' But perhaps the same verb is intended which in our best MSS. is written āvunāti, 'to pierce, to impale, to string.' If so, we cannot with Childers derive it from VAR. It is a new present formed — like \*vināti, vinati 'to weave' (Jāt. II

corrupt into pārumpeti). In a few other cases a final surd has remained unchanged in comp. before a vowel, as Yamataggi from Yamad-agni.<sup>20</sup>

P. 12<sup>26</sup>. Uṇuka is S. udanka. It means the ladle of the rice boiler, usually made of a cocoanut shell, see Mhw. p. 164.

P. 12<sup>27</sup>. Sāmīci is to be derived from samyañc, with the abstract termination -ī or -i, formed no doubt from -ya, as in pāripūri from paripūra, pārisuddhi from parisuddha, kolaputti from kulaputta, pāramī from parama. Sāmīci consequently means 'completeness, perfection,' and seems to denote such minor offices as form a supplement to the strictly incumbent duties. As regards the relation of the laity to the priesthood, the term implies, I believe,

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p. 302<sup>5</sup> and elsewhere) from vita, vīta, S. uta, ūta — from the p. p. āvuta (the regular equivalent of S. ota), on the analogy of luta lunāti (or sutu sunāti). The old present abetti, S. āvayati, was almost superseded; I have only found it twice: coram gahetvā rājāno gāme kibbisakārakam abbenti nimbasūlasmīm Jāt. 311 v. 3; ekaṁ sūlasmīm abbetha ib. 538 v. 37.

<sup>20</sup> Mutinga, or mudinga, from mṛd-anga; by false analogy, it seems, -taggha from -daghma. The latter part of bhinkāra for bhingāra, vākarā (the Burmese write vākurā) for vāgurā, the rare ajakara for ajagara Jāt. 427 v. 2, was mistaken for -kāra, -kara. From the phrase anabhāvām gameti 'to annihilate,' it may be suspected that anabhāvata — so the Singhalese and Burmese agree in writing — is a similar error for -gata, if it is not due to the vicinity of tālavatthukata, which always precedes it (anabhāva from anu-abhāva, if Buddhagosa is right; but in my opinion from bhāva with the negative prefix doubled for emphasis' sake, like anamattha; erroneous formations which would naturally intrude themselves from the apparent analogy of an-avaja being actually the reverse of vaja, añaññata, S. anaññata, coinciding in sense with añaññata, S. aññata). It is difficult to say why t takes the place of d in several derivatives of SAD: kusita, Pokkharasāti or -sādi, the locatives sainsati Jāt. 429 v. 5 — 430 v. 5, and the frequent pari-sati-m (whence the synonymous sabhati-m from sabbā, mentioned by grammarians); perhaps this irregularity may somehow be connected with the fact that sāteti (also sāteti, sādeti; pannasata = parnacada), S. cātayati, is the actual causative of QAD. Pabbaja, which occurs occasionally for babbaja, is either a mere thoughtless confusion with pabbajati, or else an etymologizing corruption alluding to \*parvaja, like supāna for suvāna, etc. (see above p. 59). For initials seem to be exempt from this sort of change except under peculiar circumstances. Tuvaituvām or tvaintvām, 'quarrel,' is undoubtedly S. dvandva, but it was made to look like the doubled pronoun tvām, and Buddhaghosa accordingly mistook it to mean 'theeing and thouing.' The same remark holds good, I think,

such attentions as washing the priest's feet, presenting him a fan, and the like.

P. 12<sup>20</sup>. 'Aticchatha bhante' is the phrase by which a mendicant priest is refused alms in a civil way, comp. Dh. p. 241, 242. A tīkā explains it thus: Atikkamitvā icchatha, idha bhikkhā na labbhati, ito aññattha gantvā bhikkhaṁ pariyesathāti adhippāyo.

P. 14<sup>18</sup>. The attainments of a learned brahman are in the suttas invariably described in these words. The Nighaṇḍu is of course the Nighaṇṭu.<sup>21</sup> Keṭubha seems to mean the Kalpa, it is thus explained by Buddhaghosa: 'The science which assists the officiating priests (?) by laying down rules for the rites, or leaving them to their choice' (keṭubhan- ti kiriyākappavīkappo, kavīnaṁ upakārāya sattham). The Akkharappabheda according to the same authority means Cikṣhā and Nirukti (saha akkharappabheda 'sākkharappabhedānaṁ'; akkharappabhedo ti sikkhā ca nirutti ca). In making the Itihāsas the fifth part of the doctrine, the Vedāngas seem to be reckoned as a whole; the scholiasts however think of Atharvaveda as the fourth part, though not mentioned. For the thirty-two mahāpurisalakkhaṇas, specified in several suttas, see Burnouf's Lotus. Anavaya is never used except in this phrase;<sup>22</sup> I

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as regards the reverse substitution of a sonant for a surd; for which reason I do not agree with those who derive jhāyati from KSHA. Dandha, 'slow,' which is commonly referred to S. tandra, I am inclined to identify with dr̥dha, because dād̥hi (in kāyādād̥hibahula, a word much used by scholiasts, but not found in the Nikāyās), S. dār̥hya, means 'sloth, inertness,' in the Sanskrit or rather Prakrit dandha the assimilation of the first and last consonants progressed one step farther.

<sup>21</sup> Buddhaghosa says, Nighaṇṭūti nāmanighaṇṭu, rukkhādīnaṁ vevacanappakāsakanā sattham.

<sup>22</sup> When I wrote this, I was unacquainted with AN.; it occurs there, at V, xiv, 5, in a different phrase: tattha sikkhito hoti anavayo. Mp. renders it by samatto paripūṇo.

<sup>23</sup> Like upajīhaṁ for -āaṁ, -āyāṁ; ettaṁ for -aaṁ, -akāṁ (at Dh. v. 196 the construction of the latter hemistich has been mistaken; several prose parallels prove the meaning to be, '... cannot be counted by any one (so as to state), This is so much'). Traditionally anavaya is no doubt derived from VĀ (vayati); the comments say, Anavayo ti imesu lokayata-mahāpurisalakkhaṇesu anūno paripūrakāri; avayo na hotīti vuttam hoti; avayo nāma yo tāni attathā ca ganthathā ca santānetum na sakkoti. — Lokayataṁ is explained by vitāṇḍavādasattham.

take it to stand for an-avayava,<sup>23</sup> with elision of v, 'in whom there is nothing fragmentary.'

P. 15<sup>4</sup>. Pāpakānām malānām pabbājetum seems to be inadmissible; it is probably an error for pāpakāni malāni.

P. 15<sup>6</sup>. Palibodha is perhaps an amalgamation of parirodha and paribādh, comp. sukhumāla (sukhuma, suku-māra).

P. 15<sup>29</sup>. Onītapattapāni is thus explained in Payogasiddhi: Onīto pattato pāni yena, so onītapattapāni. Onīta consequently means apanīta.<sup>24</sup>

P. 17<sup>7</sup>. All the canonical writings, and in an eminent degree the Abhidhamma, abound in repetitions, which in the MSS. are often omitted, being marked by the abbreviation 'pe.' The not omitting these repetitions is what is meant by 'vitthārena osāressāmi.' The sign of abridgment pe, or as it is written in Burmese copies, pa,<sup>25</sup> we are informed by Alwis, Introd. p. 93, means peyyāla, which is not however, as he asserts, an imperative 'insert, fill up the gap', but a substantive, peyyālo or peyyālam, signifying a phrase to be repeated over and over again. I consider it a popular corruption of the synonymous pariyāya, passing through \*payyāya,<sup>26</sup> with -eyy- for -ayy-, like seyyā, S. çayyā.<sup>27</sup>

P. 21<sup>18</sup>. The phrase 'bhuttāvīm onītapattapāni ... ekamantām nisīdi' is very frequent in the suttas, and no

<sup>24</sup> Buddhaghosa says, Onītapattapāni-ti pattato onītapāni, apanītahatthan-ti vuttāni hoti. He mentions another reading, which is not in our MSS.: onittapattapāni, 'having washed his bowl and his hands,' from NIJ. The best Singh. MSS. write the word with n, not v, as Childers has it, and for which there seems to be some Burmese authority. The MS. marked M, however, has it only in one place.

<sup>25</sup> Also la and gha; the latter I am unable to account for, unless it be a contraction of la-pa — to which Burmese gha bears some likeness — instead of pa-la.

<sup>26</sup> This form perhaps occurs in the Bhabra inscription; Bur-nouf reads payāya for Wilson's paliyāya, see Lotus p. 724.

<sup>27</sup> And like teyya for -tayya, -tāya, S. -tavya. (Of the various changes which the suffix -tavya undergoes, apart from -tabba, only one example is found in printed texts, and it has escaped the notice of our Pali scholars: at Dh. v. 316 we must read with the scholiast, Alajjitatāye lajjanti, lajjitatāye na lajjare, because lajjita cannot mean 'what one ought to be ashamed of,' in other texts -tayya, -teyya, -tāya are not unfrequent.)

absolutive is ever added, like *disvā* in M, or *viditvā* farther down in all our MSS. Scholiasts supply *ñatvā* or *upagantvā*. Some such verb, it is true, must be understood, unless we are to consider 'bhuttāvīm onītapattapāñīm' as an accusative absolute, of which however scarcely another instance exists.<sup>28</sup>

P. 22<sup>10</sup>. The canonical texts of Buddhism are principally divided into three *piṭakas* or baskets. We are at first view naturally inclined to think of three baskets of manuscripts. But such cannot be the Buddhist sense of the word, since the whole of the *Buddhavacana*, according to tradition, was in existence, together with its divisions and subdivisions, long before the texts were written down. 'A basket of oral tradition' is certainly a strange expression, but it may perhaps be accounted for in the following manner. Buddha occasionally impugns the authority of his antagonists on the ground of their doctrine being traditional, and tradition is uncertain because memory is often

<sup>28</sup> This is no doubt an error; I have subsequently met with several cases much like the one above, from which I select the following as the least doubtful: *Etad-attāni sambhūtāni brahmayānāni anuttaram niyanti dhīrā lokamhā aññadaththūn* (only, exclusively) *jayā jayām* (SN. XLIV, 4 v. 4). *Yathā pi camarī, vālāni kisminecā (or -ci) patilaggitām.* *upeti marañam tattha, na vikopeti vāladhiṁ* (Bv. v. 202 = Jāt. I p. 20). *Evaṁ-pi mānī tvaṁ khalitām, sapaññā, pahīnamautassa puna-ppasīda* (Jāt. 474 v. 10). *Tā, chandarāgāni puriśesu uggarāni, hiriyā nivārenti sacittam-attano* (ib. 535 v. 92; the comment in these two cases supplies 'viditvā'). *Santāni yeva kho pana parami lokam: na-tthi paro loko ti 'ssa ditthi hoti, ... ti sankappeti, ... ti vācam bhāsatī, ... ti āha; ... santāni yeva kho pana kiriyāni: na-tthi kiriyā ti 'ssa ditthi hoti, ... ti āha* (MN. 60). *Evañmāni assa, atathāni samānam* (MN. 105; Ps. makes no remark on the subject). *Yo bhikkhave evaṁ vadeyya: Yathā yathā 'yām puriso kammanī karoti tathā tathā nāmī patisamveditati, evaṁ santāni bhikkhave brahmacariyavāso na hoti, okāso na paññāyati sammā dukkhassa antakiriyāya; yo ca kho bhikkhave evaṁ vadeyya: Yathā yathā vedanīyāni ayām puriso kammanī karoti tathā tathā 'ssa vipākam patisamveditati, evaṁ santāni bhikkhave brahmacariyavāso hoti, okāso paññāyati s. d. antakiriyāya* (AN. III, x, 9; evaṁ santāni evaṁ sante, Mp.). In more recent Pali I do not consider this use of the accusative admissible. Hence in Mil. at p. 143 for *hatthagatañā janapadāni* I adopted the locative on the authority of M (probably a conjecture, but a good one, for -āni and -r are often confounded), and at p. 290, for *dve tayo divase vītivatte* I now think that I ought to have substituted d. t. d. *vītivattetvā*, -tvā being not unfrequently omitted or added at random; nīte dārake p. 275 is no doubt the loc. sing.

unfaithful:<sup>29</sup> Puna ca param Sandaka idh' ekacco satthā anusaviko hoti anussavasacco, so anussavena itihīhaparamparāya piṭakasampadāya dhammām deseti; anussavikassa kho pana Sandaka satthuno anussavasaccassa sussatam-pi hoti dussatam-pi hoti, tathā pi hoti aññathā pi hoti. 'And again, Sandaka, suppose a teacher to be a traditionist, one who knows only the truths he has heard from others; he preaches his doctrine from tradition, through a series of teachers who received it one from another, basket-wise;<sup>30</sup> now such a teacher will remember some things well and some things badly, he may be right or he may be wrong' (MN. 76). Comp. also, Yam-idam bho Gotama brāhmaṇām porānam mantapadam itihīhaparamparāya piṭakasampadāya (āgatam should be added, I suppose; ib. 95). Working people are represented as accoutred with kuddāla-pitakām,<sup>31</sup> 'hoe and basket.' It appears that baskets travelling from hand to hand were used instead of wheel-barrows, as fire-buckets are occasionally in our day. The term piṭaka consequently refers to the fact of oral tradition, and so do undoubtedly several other names of the Buddhist canon or parts of it.

<sup>29</sup> This might seem to bespeak great improvidence on Buddha's part, since after his death the stricture would apply no less to his own teaching; but then his dhammo was 'ehipassiko opanayiko paccattai veditabbo viññūhi,' it was not a thing to be learned by rote. However, these sayings are not likely to have been invented after his death, and they are probably as genuine as any word of Buddha's.

<sup>30</sup> In thus translating 'piṭakasampadāya,' I thought more especially of the compound adjective evaṁsampada, syn. with idisa; but I should now prefer deriving sampadā in this context from DA, because I have found in a similar passage the word sampadāna used as its substitute: Etha tumhe Kālāmā mā anussavena, mā paramparāya, mā itikirāya. mā piṭakasampadānena, mā takkahetu, mā nayahetu, mā ākāraparivitakkena, mā ditthinijjhānakhantiyā, mā bhabbarūpatāya, mā: samāno no garūti: yadā tumhe K. attanā va jāneyyatha, etc. ('in the manner baskets are handed about,' AN. III, vii, 5; comp. vii, 6; IV, xx, 3). Traditionally pitaka in these texts is understood in the technical sense of 'section of a book.' Piṭakasampadāyāti vaggapannasakāya piṭakabandhanasampattiya (Ps.); mā piṭakasampadānenaati amhākāni piṭakatantiyā saddhiṁ samentiti mā gāhittha (Mp.). It is far more probable that this sense originated in texts such as those I have quoted.

<sup>31</sup> E. g., Seyyathā pi bhikkhave Gangānadī pācīnaninnā pācīnaponā pācīnapabbhārā, atha mahā janakāyo ēgaccheyya kuddālapitakām ādāya: mayam imam Gangānadii pacchāninnam karissāma pacchāponam pacchāpabbhāraṇ-ti, SN. XXXIV, 242, etc. Comp. Jāt. I p. 336.

Pāli<sup>32</sup> in my opinion properly signifies the 'row' or 'series' of teachers by whom the text was handed down; or, in Mohammadan terms, it is first the 'isnād,' next the 'hadīth' resting on its authority.<sup>33</sup> Tanti, used as a synonyme for pāli, originally means 'string, chord.' As a third synonyme I consider the much discussed 'sutta;' literally the 'thread' of tradition.<sup>34</sup> In the like manner paveni, 'race, lineage, the traditional law for secular matters,' lit. signifies 'a long (pa-) braid.' Vāmsa, 'pedigree, list of teachers,' is often used for 'traditional doctrine or custom,' e. g. Five Jāt. p. 52; comp. Aliyava(in)sāni in the Bhabra inscription.<sup>35</sup>

P. 23<sup>17</sup>. Bhadanta, though only known as an honorific appellation of a Buddhist, seems to have been originally invented as a nickname to signify one who addresses Buddha by the word bhadante, which is the emphatic form corresponding to bhante; just as bhoवādin (Dh. v. 396 and the parallel verse of the Vāsetthasutta, MN. 98 v. 27 — Sn. 35 v. 27; Jāt. 543 v. 158) is used by way of retaliation by the Buddhists for those who style Buddha 'bho Gotoma.'<sup>36</sup> (For a somewhat different explanation by Weber, see his note to the verse.) Bhante

<sup>32</sup> The word pāli, which is wanting in the best Singh. MSS. available to me, is spelled thus almost constantly in those of second or third rate, and the Burmese agree with them, so far as my experience goes. Comp. patipāti and S. pāti. With the spelling pāli it occurs in Asoka's inscriptions in the sense of 'precept,' which proves that the word is much older than it would appear from Buddhist literature; and also that it then bore a more general sense than the one to which it was afterwards limited. The name of the suttadharas, who formed a sort of tribunal (Alwis, Introd. p. 100; Lassen, Ind. Alt. II p. 81), shows that also sutta was not confined to religious or scientific tradition.

<sup>33</sup> A few Buddhistic isnāds are still preserved in comments; they are at least sufficiently genuine to prove that such lists were once in existence.

<sup>34</sup> He who receives a sutta from his teacher, for the time being holds, as it were, the 'end of the thread,' suttanta. Compare also such phrases as suttām bandhati, 'to fasten a thread,' suttām osāreti, 'to let down a thread,' which are used for composing or reciting a sutta; suttanikkhepa, 'throwing down a thread,' for sutta-composition.

<sup>35</sup> Comp., Atimadhuraṁ Buddhavacanām mā nassatu, tantim dhāressāmi, vāmsām thapessāmi. pavenim pālessāmi (Ps. 22). A tīkā says, Pavenīti dhammasantati, dhammassa avicchedena pavattīti attho.

<sup>36</sup> Comp. Childers in Journ. R. A. S. vol. V p. 230.

and bho Gotama are in fact the two distinctive styles of address used in the suttas respectively by Buddhist and non-Buddhist interlocutors. Though bhante would seem to be a contraction of bhadante, the vocative of bhadanta, this is perhaps an error. I incline to consider bhante a contraction either of bhavant or bhagavant, and bhadanta to proceed from the elided form \*bha-anta, with insertion of an inorganic d, like attadattha, sadattha, anva-d-eva for anva(g)-eva, samma-d-eva for samma(g)-eva.

P. 25<sup>17</sup>. Pāramī was explained in a preceding note (p. 64). We may add that the word sometimes takes the pleonastic suffix -tā, before which the final is shortened, thus forming pāramitā.<sup>37</sup> This form is used in Buddhist Sanskrit, and has been differently explained by Burnouf and Böhtlingk, see the Petersburg Dictionary.

P. 26<sup>18</sup>. Katheti is probably a passive form, for kāthiyati; a rare contraction certainly, of which no other undoubted instance is known to me except pātisam̄vedeti, used indifferently with -diyati. I take it, like the synonymous akkhāyati in the frequent phrase aggam-akkhāyati, in the sense of 'appearing, proving to be,' or simply 'being.'

P. 26<sup>18</sup>. Devamantiya is evidently one of the 500 Yonakas, as well as Anantakāya mentioned farther down (Mil. p. 29). Both names, in spite of their Indian garb, are void of meaning ('counsellor of the gods,' 'having an infinite body'), and are no doubt corrupted from the Greek names Demetrius and Antiochus. It is not clear whether the same remark applies to the name of Mankura (Hermagoras?). At all events the author's list of Yonaka names was at an end here, for Sabbadinna is S. Çarvadatta.

P. 26<sup>26</sup>. Chambhita from STABH, with transposition of the sibilant, like cheva (also theva) 'a drop' from STIP, and in inverse order tharu from tsaru.

<sup>37</sup> The suffix -tā is occasionally added to abstracts in -ti, as santuṭṭhitā; very often to those in -ya, as kāruṇṇatā, kamyatā, sahavyatā, pātikulyatā, pāguṇṇatā, dovacassatā, etc., or in -ana, especially in later writings, as anivattanatā, anosakkanatā, (tānatā Dh. v.288,) etc. (transcribers frequently corrupt these forms, comp. Dh. p. 383 l. 16 [read patthanatāya], 18; Mil. p. 132, etc.) Also -na is superadded, as jārattana, jūrisattana, etc.

## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

The Specimen above, apart from the foot-notes, was written in 1868 and communicated to a few Pali scholars, the late lamented R. C. Childers among the rest, who in the preface to his Dictionary mentioned my performance in terms, I am afraid, too flattering. Various circumstances have retarded its publication, and I am aware that the matter it contains is partly a great deal better known now than it would have been at the time of its compilation. I cannot help thinking, however, that in its present shape it still offers some interest to Pali scholars, to whose judgment I further submit some additional notes, mostly intended to give a few supplements to our Pali grammars.

P. 1<sup>2</sup>. Upagañchi is the reading of the four Singhalese MSS., and it is doubtlessly correct. At some unknown period, either on the continent of India or in Ceylon, the aorist -gacchi was all but displaced by -gañchi. I have for years made this form the subject of particular inquiry, and judging from nearly 300 examples I find that the Singhalese write -gañchi in about four cases out of five. Whenever several MSS. or parallel passages are available, the reading almost always proves to be -gañchi, with the exceptions I shall mention presently. Gacchatī, gaccheyya, etc., of which there are thousands of examples, are never once written with a nasal, and, if the form were not right, no reason appears that could have induced transcribers to write -gañchi, whereas -gacchi being regular was likely enough to be substituted by copyists who had a smattering of scholarship. At Kacc. 517 (Senart p. 263) the reading āgacchūm cannot possibly be correct, since the sutta refers to mere anomalies. But the error is not surprising, if we consider, what seems to be a fact — Turnour's statement that the grammar was not extant in Ceylon in 1837, is not disproved by Alwis' finding a Singhalese copy in 1855 — that all the copies of Kaccāyana, if not Transganggetic, descend from one or more Burmese sources. For by the Burmese -gañchi is used so rarely that I once thought they ignored it altogether. And this

may be connected with the fact that Kaccāyana, whose precepts they seem to follow more closely than the Singhaliese usually do, allows the formation of -gacchi at 476 (Senart p. 247).<sup>1</sup> He is no doubt right, if we understand him rightly: in the compound adhigacchaṭi the aorist does not take the nasal (excepting -gañchum and ajjhagañchi), and in the plural, before -imśu, -ittha, -imha, -gañchi is very rarely used.<sup>2</sup>

The form in question has not been overlooked by native grammarians. I pointed out just now that Kaccāyana or at least his scholiast takes notice of it. And Moggallāna says expressly, 'Damsassa ca ñchan,' which the sanna and Pa-yogasiddhi agree in understanding thus: 'DAMQ, and as implied by ca also GAM, optionally form the aorist by means of the suffix ñchan,' or by substituting ñch for the final of the root.<sup>3</sup>

I have said enough, I hope, to show that Childers did not do well in passing judgment upon the form. Nor is it so difficult as he thinks to say how it arose. The original aorist -gacchi was mistaken to be on a par with acchi, akkocchi, etc., and to derive directly from GAM with the imaginary termination -cchi, abstracted from these and the like aorists. It was consequently by a would-be correction changed to -gañchi, very much in the same manner as gatvā was amended to, and supplanted by,

<sup>1</sup> It is rather surprising that Kaccāyana should have restricted to gacchō an observation which applies with equal truth to most other irregular bases of conjugation; unless indeed this is intended for a polemical remark against previous grammarians, who possibly excluded the aorist -gacchi; perhaps also the future gacchissati, which in fact is very rarely used in old prose and, to my knowledge, never in old verse (Mil. p. 412?), certainly not in Dh., Sn., Jāt., nor the Nikāyas.

<sup>2</sup> I have found but one example from the old language: upagañchiṁsu SN. XLI, 13; and only two more in other texts. In the first and second persons of the plural, both -gañchi and -gacchi seem to be all but unused; I have noticed only upagañchittha Mhw. p. 28. Gacchiṁsu, on the contrary, is frequent, but examples from canonical writings are still wanting. It would seem that a certain tendency prevailed to avoid nasals after two consecutive vowels: gacchiṁsu is to gañchi as -mhi to -smiñ, or -imśu (= -aṁsu = S. -an + su) to -isum.

<sup>3</sup> The aorist añañchi, S. adāñkshīt, is found, I believe, at Jāt. 444 v. 3 (written 'ađanṭhi' in the Cop. MS.); ib. 490 v. 5 ('añ- dachi'); Cp. v. 338 ('atamśi' in the London Phayre MS.).

gantvā; and as the latter is of undoubted antiquity, it is not easy to be seen, why -gañchi should not likewise belong to the stage of genuine, continental Pali.

That such is the origin of the form I am discussing, is strongly corroborated by the existence of a future of similar formation, gañchati or gañchiti, which is far from unfrequent, though grammarians, as far as I know, have left it unnoticed. Compare the following examples: Ehi tvam rājakumāra, samapassa Gotamassa vādam ārophehi; evam te kalyāno kittisaddo abbhuggañchiti:<sup>1</sup> Abhayena rājakumārena samanassa Gotamassa vādo āropito ti (MN. 58; the passage is repeated farther down in the same sutta). Bahūni ca duccaritāni caritvā gañchisi kho patamat cirarattam (Sn. 36 v. 9; the metre is Dodhaka). Evañ - ce mām viharantam pāpimā upagañchisi,<sup>2</sup> tathā maccu karissāmi na me maggām - pi dakkhisi (SN. VIII, 1 v. 5). Mātuc - ca<sup>3</sup> me rodantyā jetthassa ca bhātuno akāmassa hatthe pi te gahessām, na hi gañchisi no akāmānam (Jāt. 525 v. 19). Mettam cittam bhāvetha appamānam divā ca ratto ca, atha gañcitha devapurañ, āvāsam puññakammānam (ib. v. 51; written 'gañchittha' against the metre, thoughtless scribes mistaking it for an aorist). Sā 'jja lohitasañchannā gañchisi Yamasādhanam (ib. 531 v. 47; the metre recommends gañchisi). Pūjītā nātisanghehi na gacchisi (sic) Yamakkhayam (ib. v. 49). Ekarattim vasitvāna pāto gacchasi (read gañchasi or gañchisi) brāhmaṇa, nānāpupphesi sañchanne nānāgandhabhūsite nānāmūlaphalākinne (viz. dārake) gacchissādāya (read gañchis' ādāya) brāhmaṇa (ib. 547 v. 453). I have noticed more than a score of instances, but the rest would require some discussion as to the right reading, for ignorant copyists too often trouble us with their gacchati instead of ganchati, and the evidence

<sup>1</sup> At SN. XLI, 9 this phrase recurs with the reading abbhug-gacchati, which no doubt should be abbhuggañchati.

<sup>2</sup> The parallel stanza Th. v. 1216 has upagacchasi in a Burmese MS.

<sup>3</sup> The metre requires mātū ca, which is most uncommon in Pitaka texts; for even in prose I have otherwise found mātuc - ca, pituc - ca, bhatuc - ca in exclusive use. Comp. kaccic - ca Jāt. 547 v. 738; munic - ca MN. 91 v. 2; perhaps maccuc - ca Dh. vv. 135. 150; socic - ca paridevic - ca, madic - ca pamādic - ca AN. VIII, vii, 1; viii, 7 (in prose). Cases like these account for the false cca instead of ca in ādiyati - cca Sn. 41 v. 6; jātu - cca Jāt. 539 vv. 134. 137.

here given will suffice to prove that such a form is in use. It comes very opportunely to our assistance in explaining -gañchi, for it is not like that aorist without analogies. From HAN sprung up in the same manner the futures pañihankhāmi (in the formula 'iti purāñ - ca vedanāñ pañihankhāmi navañ - ca vedanāñ na uppādessāmi'), hañchati Jāt. 457 v. 6, hañchēma Jāt. II p. 418 (an optative of the future; the form was noticed by Moggallāna and Vanaratana), and, I believe, āhañchām.<sup>1</sup> All these were formed in seeming accordance with vakkhati, dakkhati or dakkhīti, lacchati, pacchati or pacchīti (S. prāpsyati; AN. IX, i, 4), etc. Comp. Prakrit socchām from ÇRU.

P. 5<sup>4</sup>. Thānāthāna. Compounds like bhavābhava, kiccākicca are by scholiasts considered to contain the prefix a, to which they arbitrarily ascribe the signification of vuddhi 'increase,' so that such words are generally said to mean 'small and large things.' This is positively disproved by thānāthāna, unless we write it with the Burmese thānatthāna. Fausböll, at Dasaratha-Jāt. p. 26, explained the case on the analogy of rajāpatha for rajapatha, etc. But as that elongation is limited to a few very old words, I am inclined to trace this sort of dvandva to a drawing together of phrases like gāmā gāmañ, dumā dumāñ. It is occasionally not very easy to tell whether the text means to give us a compound or two words. There are certain dvandvas consisting of the same word repeated with a preposition, as angapaccanga, buddhānubuddha, mañcātimāñca, etc.; but the compounds in question can scarcely contain the prep. ā. Nor can they be considered to be analogous to calācala, keçākeçi, etc.

P. 5<sup>7</sup>. Suttajālasamatthita i. q. samatthita-suttajāla; samatthita I take to mean 'reconciled,' comp. samarthana in Wilson.

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<sup>1</sup> This is a conjecture of mine in a passage where the copies vary extremely. I refer to a stanza which enters into the Upaka legend, MN. 26 = 85 = Vin. I p. 8. My MSS. exhibit āhaccām, āhañña (Burm.), agajūñ, Alwis (Buddh. Nirv. p. 133) quotes āhañcum, Oldenberg gives āhañci, āhañhi, āhañhi, āhañhi. From these elements I construed a new reading āhañchām, and I think it is confirmed by Buddhaghosa, who explains the word in question by paharissami, and no doubt had that reading before him: 'Agacchāpi (sic) amatadundubhiñ - ti dhammadakkapatiñbhāya amatabherim paharissamīti pacchāmi.'

P. 5<sup>11</sup>. *Tam�athā*. The author, in availing himself of this Sanskritizing form, shows that he did not perceive the identity of S. *tad yathā* with the Pali or rather *Māgadhi seyyathā*. In *Māgadhi* the masc. in -e was, for a great part at least, substituted for the neuter; there is double evidence that more especially *se* superseded *tad*. First, the Bhabra inscription professes, 'E keci bhamte bhagavatā budhena bhāsite save se subhāsite vā,' = 'yam kiñci .. bhāsitām sabbam tām subhāsitām yeva.' Secondly, in a *Māgadhizing* passage of MN. 105 it is said, 'Ānañ-jādhimuttassa purisapuggalassa ye (= yam) lokāmisasaññōjane (= -nam) se vante (= tām vantam),' etc. In *Jaina Māgadhi* *se* = *tad* is frequent as a particle, and *se yahā* occurs there too, see Weber's *Bhagavati*. Compare also *yebhuyena* from \*yadbhūyas.

P. 7<sup>4</sup>. *Majjhantika* apparently derives from \*majjhanta like *pubbanta*, *aparanta*, q. d. 'the middle end!' No doubt a vulgar corruption of \*majjhānhika or rather S. *madhyandina*, *mādhyandina*.

P. 8<sup>4</sup>. *Sūriya* from *sūra* occurs at SN. XLVII, 51; Jāt. I p. 282.

P. 8<sup>26</sup>. *Sārāniya* is the spelling of the Singh. Nikāya MSS. with scarcely an exception. It is formed with double *Vriddhi*, like *sāmāyika*, *pettāpiya* (or *pettāviya*, from *pitryva*, see p. 62), *poroseyya* (MN. 54, explained by *purisānucchavikā*), *āvenika* (not -n-, no doubt from *a-vinā*, lit. 'sine quo non'), and perhaps others.

P. 9<sup>12</sup>. *Pukkusa*, S. *pukkasa*. Assimilation is one of the most common causes of vowel change in Pali. Instances of i assimilating a were given above p. 55. I acts upon u in *vijigucchati*, *parijigucchati* (whence *jigucchati*), *khipita* 'sneezing' (for \**khupita*, \**khuvita*, KSHU<sup>1</sup>), perhaps in *sippi* from *çukti* (p. 60). But on the whole i—i is a sequence of sounds not much in favour; on the contrary, i before or after a is not rarely assimilated by a neighbouring a: *tadaminā*, *pathavī*, *pokkharaṇī*, *gharaṇī*, *dhajani* (or -inī), *kāhasi*, *kāhati*, *karahaci*, *timingala* (or -gila), perhaps *icchasañ*,<sup>2</sup> etc.; and so is occasionally a

<sup>1</sup> Not from KSHIV, which has a different sense, and forms *chubhati*; whence *chuddha* Dh. v. 41, etc. (comp. Mil. pp. 130. 187-8).

<sup>2</sup> *Yehi jātehi nandissam* (aor.) *yessañ - ca bhavañ - icchasañ*, SN. VII, 14 vv. 1. 6. The commentary on Dh. v. 324 quotes this

single i: koṭṭhaka (Five Jāt. p. 36), nātaka, upapajjare and similar forms from the Vedic termination -ire. The vowel a likewise influences u: pana, āyasmant, kappara (S. kūrpara), kahām (S. kuha), tavaṁ for tuvaṁ, bāhā for bāhu, Sutanā (Jāt. 501) perhaps for -tanu, sakkhalī (S. ḡashkulī), accharā and accharikā of the same origin with S. ācchurita (Dasaratha-Jāt. p. 22). Oftener, however, u assimilates a and i: ulunka, kurunga, kunkuṭṭha (Burmese kan-, S. kankushṭha), puthujjana (partly confounded with puthu), anutthunaṁ Dh. v. 156 and elsewhere, usūyā;<sup>1</sup> ucchu, usu, susu, kukku, etc. The transformations of the vowel r are partly to be accounted for in the same manner, as gaha, gihin, anapa (ina), uju, utu. — Singhalese transcribers are rather prone to this sort of euphonism, and errors like payurupāsati, vinubbhujati, nuṭṭhura, kaṭucchu, etc. are not uncommon; so some caution is necessary. It may be doubted that all the forms of this description are genuine, even if the MSS. do not vary. Niṭṭhubhati is about as frequent as nuṭṭh-, which renders the authority of the latter questionable. Abbhussukkati (p. 60) is not written so uniformly. Kapaniddhika, as the word is written almost constantly in Singh. MSS., is perhaps an error for -addhika. — Long vowels are not exempt from this sort of 'change: seleti (Sn. 37 v. 4, etc.) from ÇĀD, onojeti from NIJ, vedheti from \*vyāthayati (comp. hyādhayissati SN. VIII, 1 v. 3 = Th. v. 1214; Th. v. 49), ereti<sup>2</sup> perhaps for īreti (comp. however the Pet. Dict.), khepeti probably from kshāpayati (KSHI). The modifying vowel is often a short one: masāraka, S. masūraka; a point to which I shall have occasion to revert farther down.

P. 9<sup>26</sup>. Dosina or -nā, S. jyautsna, jyotsnā, was rightly explained by Weber, see Bhagavatī. The same

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stanza with the reading icchisāṁ, and an imitation of it has, Yena jātena nandissam yassa ca bhavam - icchisāṁ, Jāt. 432 v. 9. Icchasāṁ, if correct, may however have been formed by adding -sāṁ to the A-terminations, like pamādassām MN. 180; AN. III, iv, 6.

<sup>1</sup> In anasūyaka the preceding a sometimes preserves the primitive sound, and at Five Jāt. p. 13 = Jāt. II p. 192 this is likely to be the right reading. Payogasiddhi quotes 'kā asūyā avijānatām,' but at SN. IV, 25 v. 8 the reading is usūyā, and so it is quoted at Kacc. 277 (Senart p. 125).

<sup>2</sup> At Dh. v. 134 read n' eresi.

phrase is found in the introduction to DN. 2, of which our text is in part an imitation; and the word is also used at MN. 32; Th. vv. 309; 1122; Jāt. 544 v. 19. Buddhaghosa's explanation is a striking instance of his occasional errors: 'Dosinā ti dosāpagatā, abbha-mahika-dhūma-rajo-rāhūti imehi upakkilesehi virahitā ti attho.'

P. 11<sup>9</sup>. I ought no doubt to have written uparūparūpapattiko; the Singhalese are extremely apt to substitute uppajjati, uppatti for upapajjati, upapatti.

P. 11<sup>20</sup>. Pagganāhitvā dehi. The Burmese corrector did not know or was unwilling to acknowledge this phrase. But the use of deti in connection with an absolutive to signify 'doing something for the benefit of some one' is very common: Rukkhe... taccentānām parivattetvā deti (turned the logs for them) Ten Jāt. p. 25. Dārūni āharitvā aggiṁ katvā dassati Five Jāt. p. 2 (in this place Fausböll rightly rendered it 'will make a fire for thee'); Dh. p. 186 (not 'made a fire and gave it them,' Childers at samayo); Jāt. I p. 296. Esa no bhājetvā dassati ib. I p. 265. Pettikam me rajjam gānāhitvā dehi Dh. p. 157; Ten Jāt. p. 29; Five Jāt. p. 3. Cīvaram no katvā detha Jāt. I p. 220. Pallankam aṭṭharitvā adāsi ib. I p. 129. Gītassa atthām kathetvā detha Jāt. 415, etc., etc. I also think that gānāhāti is similarly used, though less frequently, in the reverse meaning of 'doing something in one's own behalf.' Examples from old Pali are wanting, and as in Singhalese the corresponding verbs 'denavā' and 'gannavā' are largely used in the same manner — see (Ferguson's) Sinhalese Made Easy, Colombo 1878, p. 61 — there can be little doubt that this phraseology sprung up in Ceylon.

P. 13<sup>20</sup>. Tadūpiya is perhaps properly a Vinaya word; at least it is rare in the texts with which I am acquainted: Nālikodanaparamām bhuñjāmi tadūpiyañ ca sūpeyyam SN. XXI, 96. Pañcamattāni tañḍulavāhasatāni pandūmuṭikassa (or -ti-) sālino tadūpiyañ ca sūpeyyam MN. 81. In Ps. it is explained 'tadanurūpa-telaphānitādīni;' comp. Minayeff's Pātim. p. 81. In a tīkā I have found, 'Bhāndāgāriko alankārabhāndām pātisāmetvā pasādhanakāle tadūpiyañ alankārabhāndām rāñño upanāmetvā tam alankaroti.' I think that this is a wrong use of the word, and that it has no such general signification. At Jāt. II p. 160 'na ca paññā tadūpiyā' may perhaps be

intended for a jest, 'there is no corresponding seasoning of wit.' If it really means, as the scholiast renders it, nothing more than anucchavika, the passage would prove that the etymology and proper meaning of the word were forgotten at an early age; for in my opinion tadūpiya can be nothing but S. tadopya. The Pet. Dict. at ā-VAP refers us to that compound, but it is wanting in its place, and I am ignorant in what sort of phrases it is used in Sanskrit. It is true that analogy would seem to require in Pali not opiya, but āvupiya (comp. vutta S. ukta, upta; āvuta S. ota, etc.). But that participle was probably derived directly from the present opati, opeti; for in this verb, in the sense of 'putting into,' āva- is contracted to o-: Rukkhamūlagahanaṁ pasakkiya (see p. 60) nibbānaṁ hadayasmīm opiya jhāya Gotama mā ca pamādo, kin-te bilibiličā karissati SN. IX, 5 v. 1 = Th. v. 122. Na tesam koṭṭhe openti, na kumbhī (= kumbhyā, loc.), na kalopiyā SN. XI, 20 v. 4 = Jāt. 529 v. 12 = Therīg. v. 285. It is also used several times in the Jātaka commentary. The nearly synonymous osāpeti was formed in the same manner from ā-VIÇ; it occurs in comments in phrases like 'pat-tam̄ dhovitvā vodakam̄ (dry, vi-odaka) katvā thavikāya osāpetvā;' comp. also Jāt. I p. 25.

If I am right in identifying tadūpiya with tadopya, it is not difficult to account for the ū substituted for o. It is due to the following i. The vowel i occasionally by assimilation changes e into ī, and by half-assimilation o into ū: pātihīra = -hera = -hāriya, parihīrati (Sn. 11 v. 13) for \*-herati, -hariyati (hence saṁhīrati, the passive of saṁharati or sangharati), abhijhāna (Jāt 546 v. 49, = viriyakarāṇa) from JEH;<sup>1</sup> = abhirūhati, virūhati (whence the syn. rūhati; comp. ārohati,<sup>2</sup> orohati), visūka from viçoka (Childers Dict.), mittadūbhīn from -drohin. sītūdaka, nirūdaka from -odaka (for in comp.

<sup>1</sup> VEN, VEN appears in the shape of apavīnati MN. 48, Jāt. 533 v. 1, pavīnati Jāt. 409 v. 4. Compounds with anu and vi, which were probably in use, as they are in Sanskrit, account for the vowel change.

<sup>2</sup> In later writings āruhi, -itvā are found occasionally; it is perhaps fortuitous that ārūhati, etc. are wanting. The form may be explained from the syn. abhirūhati, but it is of doubtful authority. Āruhati, which is not unfrequent in verse, was explained above from the aorist aruhat.

odaka is generally used for udaka).<sup>1</sup> So likewise u affects a neighbouring e, changing it to ī: anuhīramāna DN. 14, MN. 123 for \*-hera-, -hariya-; dvihi, dvisu for \*duvehi, \*duvesu. It might be anticipated that u would assimilate o into ū, but such within my experience is scarcely ever the case;<sup>2</sup> so true is it that the Rule of Three by no means universally applies to matter of language.<sup>3</sup> And yet o — u and u — o formed a sequence of vowels which at one time must have grated particularly upon the Indian ear, for it is in many cases avoided. But the expedient resorted to is dissimilation; either u it changed to i, or e takes the place of o: bhiyyo (comp. yebhuyyena), mātito, pitito for -uto (in old Pali māti, piti are not otherwise used as bases), vito, vīto for \*vuto, \*vūto (see p. 64); — ahesum (comp. ahosi), antepura for antopura, pure for \*puro, suve (sve) for \*svo, duve (dve), \*duvehi, \*duvesu (assimilated to -ī-) for \*dvo- (comp. ubho, -ohi, -osu), hetuye Bv. v. 89 = Jāt. I p. 4 for \*hotuye (\*hotuve, hotave; comp. gaṇetuye Bv. v. 371).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The ū of khajjūpanaka, ārūgya (MN. 66) may be due to the latent i of dy, gy.

<sup>2</sup> Ukkūsa, S. utkroča, seems to form an exception, for ū is required by the metre at Jāt. 486 v. 2; but it is constantly written ukkusa.

<sup>3</sup> I once had occasion to make this remark to Childers, who in order to prove gacchi to be correct, from certain analogies was tempted to assert that the Singh. character in question should be read coh, not ūch. — If we expect to find u o v dealt with on the analogy of i e y, or vice versa, we are often disappointed. Y is doubled after e (except in keyūra), not v after o (except yobbana, yobbañña). From dussila derives dussilya, but pātikulya-tā from pātikkula seems to require short u. After a consonant va goes into u, v suffering elision; but ya, yā make ī (with a few exceptions, as kujjhisi, abbhībhāsi Jāt. 524 v. 21, pattiya S. pratyaya, whence pattiyatati 'to believe,' Jāt. I p. 426<sup>10</sup>, etc.; comp. pattiyāmi, Weber's Bhag. 1866 p. 272). Aya makes e, as ava does o, and this looks like symmetry; but if we are to go by analogy, the former must have passed through aī with ī for ya, the latter through au, with the second vowel labialized and v elided.

<sup>4</sup> Some of the nominatives in -e may be accounted for on this principle: Vanappagumbe yāthā phussitagge Khuddakap. 6 v. 12 = Sn. 13 v. 12; ito so ekanavute kappe yām Vipassī bhagavā loke udapādi DN. 14 (comp. in the same sutta, ito so ekatimso kappo); sukhe dukkhe (DN. 2; MN. 76; SN. XXIII, 8) for sukho dukkho (i. e. sukham dukkham), etc.

P. 14<sup>18</sup>. Ettaka is of somewhat doubtful origin, but as tattaka, yattaka, kittaka are formed from tāvant, etc., in the same manner as S. iyattaka from iyant, ettaka is either this very word, or else contracted from \*etā-vattaka. The latter is perhaps the more likely derivation, since \*kiyattaka or \*kīvattaka forms kittaka, not kettaka; comp. also edisa = etādisa.

P. 14<sup>21</sup>. Anuyogām datvā. In my rendering of this phrase, 'having applied himself zealously,' I left to anuyoga the signification in which it is generally used in Pali. I am now convinced that I committed an error, and I regret to see it repeated by Childers. The phrase must have quite a different sense. It occurs at Mil. p. 348 in another but equally obscure context, and in the Jātaka comment it is often employed exactly as above. But I have not succeeded in finding out any very probable sense, and I prefer confessing that I do not know what it means.

P. 15<sup>19</sup>. Urattālīm, which is of frequent use in the suttas in the above phrase, is S. uras-tādām, with -īm for -ām like uttarīm, saddhīm, kuhīm (for kuham, S. kuha). Absolutives in -ām are not much in use, and there is perhaps no second example of -īm. Forms in -akām, on the contrary, are frequent, as pariphosakām (PRUSH), samparivattakām, ālumpakārakām; sannidhikārakām, dantullehakām, phenuddehakām, udarāvadehakām, etc.

P. 17<sup>15</sup>. Pubbanha is so written not only in B, but also, together with sāyanha, throughout in SN., which in point of distinguishing the two nasals is by far the best MS. in the Copenhagen collection. Vanaratana<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As native grammarians are so very sparing of remarks on the correct use of the two nasals, I shall here add another of his rules: 'Ta-tha-na-rānām ta-tha-na-la' — ta-tha-na-rānām ta-tha-na-lā honti yathākkamām: dukkatañm dukkatañm, evam sukatañm su-katañm, paññato uddhato visāto; attakathā; paññihānām paññipāto paññāmo paññitām paññato paññāmo sunnayo (meaning, I suppose, dun-nayo) onato; paññanno paññipanno (sic). evam paññibodho pallankām taluño mahāsālo māluto sukhumālo. It is obvious that with 'paññanno paññipanno' begin the examples of l for r, and we must read paññipanno paññipanno. The latter was received by Childers with some doubts, it seems (see his Dict.), but it is not unfrequent in the suttas: Sake muttakarise paññipanno DN. 14, etc.; paññipalipanno or paññipālipanno MN. 8 (palipa or -ā, 'mud,' Jāt. 378 v. 1;

remarks that h may be joined to any one of the five nasals, and gives these examples: *avan* - *hoti*, *tañ* - *hi*, *tanhā*, *pubbanho*, *amhe*. We may reasonably conclude that nh is also the correct spelling of *cinha*, *junhā*, *majjhanha*, which are known only from MSS. of no authority. It is rather fortunate that *pubbanha* is so uncommonly well authenticated, for there is no perceptible law for the influence of a latent r upon n; it may or may not change it into ñ (compare *tāna*, *pāna*, *tīni*, etc., with *ghāna*, *aghanaka*, *savana*, etc.). The very rare *aparanha* most likely requires the lingual. The average of Singhalese as well as Burmese copies scarcely ever present nh, and the scribes evidently are prejudiced against it, probably from the frequency of words like *tanhā*, *ganhāti*, etc. I once made some observations on the subject to Childers, who at anha repeated the substance of them. But he must afterwards have changed his mind, for he writes *majjhanha* in both ways, and at *pubbanha* he rejected the spelling for which there is incomparably the best authority.

P. 17<sup>15</sup>. Phāsu is perhaps the Veda S. prāgu.

P. 19<sup>17</sup>. Comp. Jāt. III p. 2<sup>5</sup>, where the reading ought no doubt to be *asammatṭatthānam* or *asammatṭhatthānam*.

P. 24<sup>16</sup>. Na - *tthi*. Na never loses its vowel before a, but constantly, in case of sandhi, coalesces with it to ā, even before a *samyoga*. *Napparūpa* is no proof to the contrary,<sup>1</sup> for *lacchasi napparūpañ*, Ten Jāt. p. 115, is, I dare say, a mere erratum for *lacchasi 'napparūpañ*, as the scholiast explains it. *Natthi*, if written n' *atti*, looks like an exception, which it scarcely is; it is rather additional proof how apt is the root AS to drop the initial. Hence I prefer writing *na - tthi* (and *na - mhi*). Also na

509 vv. 9. 19; Th. v. 92; Therīg. v. 293; a derivative from LIP like the syn. *palipatha* Dh. v. 414 = Sn. 35 v. 45 = MN. 98 v. 45; AN. VIII, vi, 6 v. 3).

<sup>1</sup> *Nantaka* (not *nattaka*), 'a shred, a rag,' is said to be so called, because there is no (regular) end to them: 'Na-antakāni, antavirahitāni vatthakhandādīni;' or, as we might guess just as well, because 'no end' of them are required to make up a garment. In Sanskrit *naktaka*, because the naked cover their nudity with them; or *laktaka*, from being of various dyes. All these seem to be so many attempts at finding an Aryan etymology for a word which may have been borrowed from some aboriginal language.

'thi would do, if it were not that na si, ca si, etc. cannot very well be written na 'si, etc., as the vowel a in prose — in verse the case is different — always coalesces, if sandhi takes place, with a following light a. At Ten Jāt. p. 28<sup>7</sup> — Jāt. II p. 21<sup>16</sup> the context requires mahājanassa līnām cittām. There are however some exceptions, or what seems to be so. But in the cases that have come under my notice, the second word is almost always aham, and I consider it preferable to write 'ham; as, tāva 'ham, eva 'ham (Mil. p. 219), tattha 'ham, and especially nāma 'ham (and nāma 'yam). But also nāmāham (and nāmāyam), etc. are found, and altogether the reading is not always, if ever, indubitable. Besides the Prakrit ham, there is other evidence that the initial of aham has a tendency to vanish. The elision of an initial a after o and e is rare in Pali prose, and only applies to the initial of aham, ayaṁ, and the present of AS; after e (with the exception of re 'yya Mil. p. 124) only to aham. and even this is most unfrequent.<sup>1</sup>

P. 25<sup>15</sup>. In my translation of vedagū, 'erudite in Veda lore,' I was no doubt mistaken, for though such is probably its original meaning, it is always used differently. It is one of those paradoxical or purposely ambiguous expressions in which Buddha appears to have delighted

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<sup>1</sup> This is no doubt a point on which the particular dialect of Sanskrit from which Pali took rise more immediately, differed from the language of books. In the dialect in question final e and o must, generally speaking, have been treated uniformly before all vowels, not excepting a. And Pali follows the same sandhi law; only the hiatus very rarely remains, it being bridged over either by contraction or by the insertion of a euphonical consonant. Cases like sacāham, etc., which I think should be dealt with on this principle, are well known. But the other sort of examples have not, it seems, struck the attention of grammarians, native any more than occidental, though they are very numerous, as ya-d-antagū == yo antagū, hamṣa-r-iva == hainso iva, ta-d-āsu == te āsu, etc., and may be met with even in prose: ya-d-ariyo == ye ariyo, dantehi danta-m-ādhāya, etc., if these are not allusions to verse. At Dh. v. 412 and the parallel texts I propose to read, ubho sanga-m-upaccagā == ubho sange u., in accordance with ubh' anta-m-abhiññāya, Sn. 55 vv. 65, 67, which the comment justly explains ubho ante. For scholiasts are perfectly well acquainted with this sort of sandhi; I was going to say, too well, for they sometimes have recourse to it, where it is rather out of place.

